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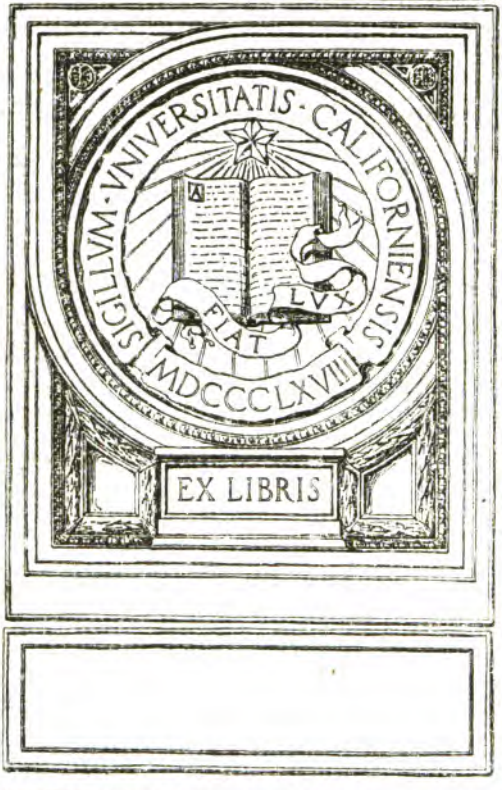

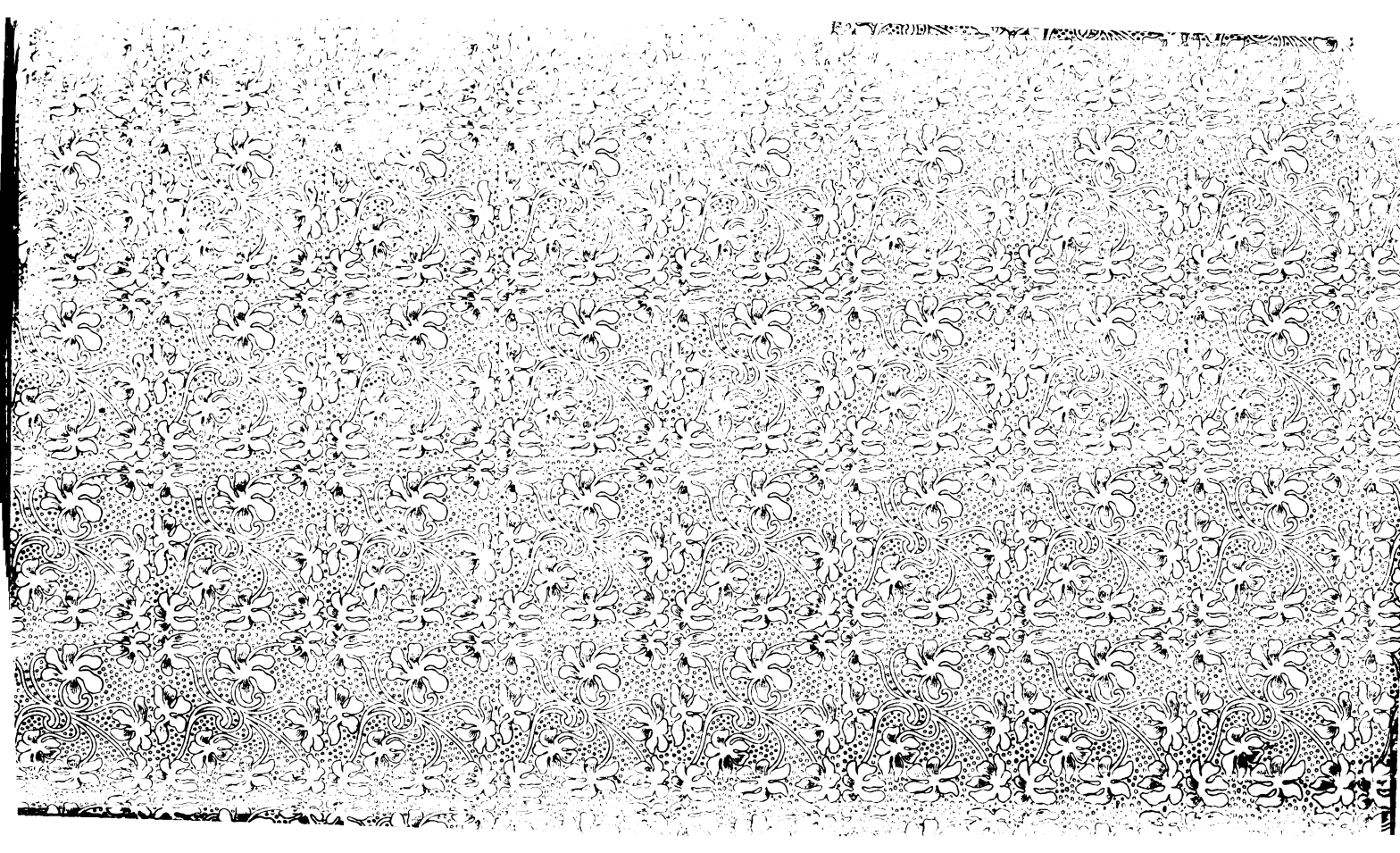

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THE SPANISH DEPENDENCIES IN SOUTH AMERICA

THE SPANISH DEPENDENCIES IN SOUTH AMERICA

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF THEIR CIVILISATION

BY

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PREFACE

THE history of Spanish rule in South America comprehends three periods, each of which has its peculiar character, but they cannot be exactly separated by definite dates. The first is characterised by voyages of discovery and exploring expeditions, and may be said to extend from 1492 to 1550. The second is marked by the organisation and development of political societies dependent on Spain, and lies between 1550 and 1730; while the third period extends from this last date to the battle of Ayacucho, in 1824, and is especially distinguished by the increasing social importance of the creoles and mestizos, the disastrous effects of Spain's commercial policy, the decline of loyalty to the mother country, and the successful struggle for independence.

This book aims to present an account of the second, or middle, period. It treats of the beginnings of European civilisation in widely separated regions of South America, and sets forth some of the characteristic events associated with the slow development of colonial communities. The early voyages of discovery and the exploring expeditions, which give a certain romantic quality to the history of the first period, are here brought into view only in so far as they led to the establishment of European settlements. The period with which these volumes deal ends in the early part of the eighteenth century, which witnessed a change in the ideas and aspirations of the colonists, when the rising class of creoles and mestizos, aroused by the obstacles placed by the government in the way of their progress, and by their

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exclusion from important offices, began to inquire how they might cast off the restrictions that seemed to condemn them to perpetual stagnation and dependence. The history of the rise of this class, the development of a mestizo-creole public opinion, and the series of events by which the dependencies were transformed into independent states, constitute a subject demanding a separate and independent treatment. If the events considered in these volumes are generally less attractive than the adventures of the early explorers, or lack somewhat of the dramatic unity of the history of the third period, it is, nevertheless, to these events, representing the origins and fundamental institutions of a new society, that one must refer if he would elucidate the civilisation of the nations that succeeded the colonial dependencies.

In the years embracing the author's study of Spanish-American affairs, certain results of his investigations have been printed in the *Yale Review*, the *University of California Chronicle*, the *Papers of the American Historical Association*, and two small volumes called *The Establishment of Spanish Rule in America*, and *South America on the Eve of Emancipation*. Some pages, as well as isolated paragraphs, taken from these publications, have been revised, or rewritten, and embodied in the text of these volumes.

Within the field of almost every general subject of European history, there are numerous monographs which are the products of special investigations made under the influence of enlightened criticism. These are important for the writer who would give an account of an extended period. With only a limited number of such monographs treating of topics within the field covered by this book, it may seem to be too early to attempt to offer an acceptable general view of the foundation and development of Spain's dependencies in South America; but it is, perhaps, not too early to present such an account as will exhibit the character of the period, indicate the principal

events in the growth of the new communities, and call attention to some of the topics that require a more elaborate treatment than could be given to them in this general introduction to the history of the civilisation that has been evolved in the Spanish states of South America.

PARIS, *August* 1914.

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INTRODUCTION

THE constitutional governments of the Spanish kingdoms were early superseded by the rule of kings who neglected the Cortes and resorted to the devices of absolute monarchs. But the absolutism of the Spanish kings differed from the arbitrary power exercised by the rulers of other European states in this period. In England, Denmark, Sweden, and the German kingdoms, the movement towards absolutism came after the Protestant Revolution had weakened the authority of the Church in relation to the affairs of the State. But in Spain the movement fell within the years marked by the crusade against the Jews and the Moors, when the king and the priests were urged to action by a common motive, and when the aim of governmental activity was not determined by economic considerations, but by the desire to realise in Spain the designs of the Church, involving the unity of faith and the consolidation of ecclesiastical power. The Spanish kings became, therefore, rather the champions of ecclesiasticism than the defenders of the temporal interests of the nation.

The long wars against the Mohammedans merged the interests of the Church in the interests of the Crown, and often made it impossible afterwards to discriminate between the civil and the ecclesiastical functions. These wars also kept alive the fanatical zeal of the nation, and gave an ecclesiastical colouring to all great public undertakings. In this view it is significant that the discovery of America was contemporaneous with the fall of Granada. The discovery of a new world occupied by a non-Christian

people, at a time when the heroic efforts to suppress the Moorish infidel had been crowned with success, appeared to the Spaniards as evidence that they were the instruments preferred by Providence in extending the kingdom of heaven on earth. It was natural, therefore, that the exploration and occupation of America should assume, to a certain extent, the character of a crusade. If the conduct of some of the leaders of the Spanish conquest in America does not seem to illustrate one's idea of the character of soldiers of the Cross, it should be remembered that the campaigns of the Crusaders, whether in Palestine or Spain, were often marked by great and unnecessary cruelty, and that, in America, by reason of the great distance and the lack of communication, there were many opportunities for the agents to depart from the intentions of their principal, the king. And the cruelty and excesses, of which the Indians of America were the victims, cannot be charged wholly to the king and the Council of the Indies, but chiefly to the unprincipled adventurers, who undertook the task of making conquests and settlements in America; for, removed from the immediate control of the Crown, they could and did violate its orders with impunity. They disregarded the commands of their superiors, and sought their own interests, without giving much attention to the effect of their conduct on the natives.

In the early decades of this period, Spain stood, in relation to the other nations of Europe, higher economically than she had ever stood before or has ever stood since. Between 1482 and 1700 her population declined from about ten millions to six millions, and there was a corresponding decline in her economic affairs. One of the signs of Spain's decay was the decline of her agriculture. Foreseeing the evil here impending, the government undertook to exempt from seizure animals and implements employed in cultivation, except under certain prescribed conditions. The Council of Castile, giving an

account of the state of the realm in the beginning of the seventeenth century, declared that the agricultural districts were becoming deserted, and the inhabitants were disappearing and leaving the fields abandoned. The depression of agriculture was further intensified by the overthrow of the Moriscos and their final expulsion from the Peninsula.

In 1618, a few years after the expulsion of the Moriscos, a commission was organised to propose a remedy for the ruinous condition of the kingdom, and it began its memorial to the king with the following lamentation: "The depopulation and want of inhabitants in Spain at present are much greater than ever before in the reigns of any of your Majesty's ancestors, being in truth so great at this time that if God do not provide such a remedy for us as we may expect from your Majesty's piety and wisdom, the Crown of Spain is hastening to its total ruin; nothing being more visible than that Spain is on the verge of destruction, its houses being in ruins everywhere, and without anybody to rebuild them, and its towns and villages lying like so many deserts." [1]

It was of great importance for agriculture that the means of irrigation which the Spaniards found established in the districts taken from the Moors should be maintained and even extended. But the conquerors in this matter appear as inefficient successors of the conquered. Their attempts in this direction were few and ineffectual.

The privileges enjoyed by the sheep-owners, who were represented by the Council of the Mesta, had an important influence on the agriculture of Spain, particularly on the agriculture of Estramadura. When the Moors were expelled from this province, a large part of the land hitherto cultivated was abandoned. In the course of time, however, attempts were made to restore the cultivation, but the new population, in part lazy and ignorant discharged soldiers, made little progress against the opposition and

[1] Geddes, *Miscellaneous Tracts* (London, 1730), i. 163.

encroachments of the owners of the sheep that were annually driven over this region. Gradually the population of Estramadura increased, resulting in contests between the wandering shepherds and the resident cultivators. In 1556 a compromise was effected, and the privileges of the Mesta were defined and legally established. Conspicuous among these privileges two may be cited: one is that the permanent residents were prohibited from ploughing land that had not been cultivated hitherto; the other is that they were prohibited from extending their enclosures. The privileges of the Mesta suggest the hunting privileges of a medieval aristocracy. They discouraged agriculture, and those who opposed them found it easy to argue that they "doomed to barrenness some of the finest districts of Spain."

An effective obstacle to agricultural progress existed also in the practice of entailing estates in behalf of the eldest son and of bestowing lands in mortmain on churches and monasteries.

Although excuses may have been found for the existence of entailed estates while the aristocracy was powerful and rendering the Crown great service in war, it is difficult to justify that extension of the practice which we observe in the sixteenth century, when the comparatively poor were ennobled, and thus confirmed in their idleness, and made ridiculous in their unsupported pretensions. This practice is noteworthy for its evil effects on the agriculture of the country. In bringing honest work into contempt, and in setting up numerous models of indolent and worthless lives, its influence was so great that in 1552 the Cortes of Madrid was moved to repudiate the privileges of entailing property to the prejudice of the younger children and to the injury of the nation.

Toward the end of the fifteenth century the lands of Spain, whether in public or private hands, were being rapidly denuded of trees, and the government had already at that time perceived the need of special action

to preserve the forests; but the present treeless condition of a large part of the country is an evidence that no permanently effective provision was made. Besides a number of general ordinances relating to the preservation of the forests, Ferdinand and Isabella caused to be issued special ordinances touching the conservation of the forests in the districts about Madrid and Medina del Campo.

It may be seen from the instructions given to Diego de Covarrubias, when he was appointed president of the Council of Castile, that Philip II appreciated the seriousness of the situation: "One thing," he said, "I desire to see given thorough treatment, and that is the matter of the preservation of the forests, and their increase, which is very necessary; for I believe they are going to destruction. I fear those who come after us may have many complaints that we have allowed them to be used up, and God grant that we may not see this in our day."

Prominent among the causes of the disappearance of the forests was the disposition to plunder rather than to husband the resources of the country. In order to prepare the soil to receive the seed and to provide abundant pasture, it was the practice in some parts of Spain to burn the forests and the thickets which occupied the ground. The fires kindled for this purpose, which sometimes extended over several leagues and often caused serious losses, were recognised as an evil to be abated. Ordinances were, therefore, issued to prohibit them, but the abuses proved to be difficult to correct. In this barbarous manner disappeared the forests of Estramadura, Andalucia, Toledo, and other parts of the kingdom, leaving no possibility of their being replaced, inasmuch as the new growths, the fresh and tender shoots, were destroyed by the cattle which occupied these fields as pastures.

That some part of the damage might be avoided, Philip II ordered that the justices of the districts in which

the forests had been burned should not allow cattle to graze where the ground had been burned over, except as permitted by the licence of his council. The ancient right to take wood for the use of the court had also much to do with the destruction of the forests; not that the strict observance of the right itself would have caused any serious damage, but that under the pretence of observing it, a way was found for extensive frauds, in that persons about the court not entitled to the advantage of this privilege ravaged the forests and contributed in a large measure to their ruin.

Concerning the industries of Spain in the sixteenth century, there appear two widely divergent views. According to one opinion, the beginning of the century witnessed an extraordinary development in the silk and woollen industries, which lost their importance in the seventeenth century; while, in the other view, there never existed in the country any remarkable industrial development. The historical fact, however, lies nearer the first view than the second, but at the same time there is no doubt that tradition has somewhat exaggerated the degree of industrial prosperity which had been attained at the beginning of the sixteenth century. There is no doubt, moreover, that the course of the century was marked by a conspicuous decline in Spanish industry, but it is not now possible to date the several steps of that decline. Among the first symptoms were the complaints made in 1537 that the cloth of Segovia had risen in price in the four preceding years. With these complaints of high prices appeared also denunciations of fraud employed in the processes of manufacturing. On account of these high prices, the common people were unable to use the cloth made in their own country and were granted the privilege of purchasing foreign goods. This was the beginning of the fall of the textile industries in Spain, which was hastened by the operation of several causes. Prominent among these was the importation of gold and

silver from America, which caused a continued rise of price, and developed an irresistible desire to buy in a foreign market. Another cause was the marked decline in the quality of Spanish products, which placed them in unfavourable contrast with the wares of other countries, and destroyed the demand for them. Among these causes may be mentioned, also, the rigidity of the surviving medieval trade organisations, which, by their narrow views and their illiberal conduct in the management of their monopolies, prevented industrial and commercial growth, and made impossible, even in Spanish markets, successful competition with the more liberal industrial systems of other nations. A survey of the industries of Spain throughout the century, however, leads to the conclusion that the manufacture of cloth flourished in the beginning of the sixteenth century, while in the second quarter there were conspicuous symptoms of its approaching decline. "By the middle of the century the evil had become so far aggravated that Spain not only did not export textile fabrics, but was even under the necessity of importing them in order to meet the demands of her own consumption."[1] In the last half of the century the fall was rapid, and all subsequent efforts for revival were fruitless.

Conspicuous among the hindrances to the economic development of Spain in the sixteenth century was the lack of facilities for transportation. This phase of civilisation received little attention from the Moors. The habits of their ancestors, accustomed to free life on the desert or in Northern Africa, made them indifferent to the establishment of roads suited to vehicles with wheels; and the fact that the Spaniards remained in a very large measure satisfied with the beasts of burden as a means of transportation may be in part accounted for by the influence of their Mohammedan neighbours. An important difference between the English and Spanish settlers in

[1] Colmeiro, *Historia de la Economia política* (Madrid, 1863), ii. 188.

America is that the English have made roads over which they could drag with them their household goods and implements of industry on carts or wagons, while the Spaniards, in their advance into unoccupied regions, have often neglected to build roads, and remained satisfied with beasts of burden as means of transportation.

The lack of convenient and inexpensive means of communication between buyers and sellers suggested the fixing of certain times and places for general meetings. These meetings became the great fairs of the Middle Ages, survivals of which may still be seen at various points in Eastern Europe. In Spain they were held at Segovia, Valladolid, Alcalá, Salamanca, Seville, Villalon, Medina de Rioseco, and Medina del Campo. On account of the great wealth gathered at Rioseco, the place acquired the title of *India chica;* but the most important of all the fairs was that of Medina del Campo, whose origin, like the origin of most European fairs, is not a matter of definite historical knowledge.

The apologist of Spain's economic policy with respect to foreign trade in the sixteenth century is disposed to find in the restrictive and artificial system of the Hanseatic League and the Italian republics an earlier employment of the methods whose origin is ascribed to the Spaniards, claiming that the influence of these powers was felt throughout Europe, and that the mercantile system was introduced into Spain not earlier than into France and England. If it struck deeper roots in Spain than elsewhere, it was because Spain controlled the best mines of the world, and could not without difficulty give up the thought of monopolising the precious metals.

In examining the trade with foreign nations and the shifting attitude of the government towards it, it is not possible to discover any principle which was consistently observed. Many decrees of prohibition issued with respect to exportation were prompted by the desire not to have diminished the store of articles necessary for the

support of the people ; and if in certain cases the importation of wares was prohibited, it was to avoid too sharp competition with Spain's domestic products. In other cases the principle of the mercantile system, or the desire to increase the amount of specie in the kingdom, was unquestionably the determining factor in the policy. This state of things has been characterised by Colmeiro in the remark that the mercantile doctrines grew up slowly and without order, indicating the triumph of other ideas, without succeeding in forming a new system ; so that the commercial policy of the sixteenth century appears as a web of contradictions.

Passing over the details of the effects of the colonial system and the transatlantic trade, attention may be directed to the influence of the government on the economic affairs of Spain. It may be noticed, in the first place, that the extensive dominions involving the government in large expenses in carrying on wars, into which it was drawn by an aggressive ambition, made a demand on the nation which the public revenue, even when supplemented by the treasures of America, could not satisfy. Through the great undertakings of Charles V and Philip II the expenditures went on from year to year, carrying over an increasing burden upon the income of the future, so that at the death of Philip II Spain had a debt of 140,000,000 ducats.[1]

Philip's extraordinary need of money to meet his numerous obligations led him to extraordinary means to obtain it. He appropriated for his own uses silver and gold which came from the Indies for merchants and other private persons. This helped to destroy the fundamental

[1] "La nacion sufria los mayores ahogos, y arrastraba una vida trabajosa, miserable y pobre, gastando toda su savia en alimentar aquellas y las anteriores guerras, que continuamente habia sostenido el emperador, y no bastando todos los esfuerzos y sacrificios del reino a subvenir a las necesidades de fuera, ni a sacar al monarca y sus ejercitos de las escaseces y apuros que tan frecuentamente paralizaban sus operaciones" (Lafuente, *Historia general de España*, iii. p. 13).

condition of material prosperity, namely, the citizen's sense of security in the possession of his property. He sold offices and titles of nobility, and the lands which belonged to the Crown. He imposed forced loans on prelates and the owners of large estates, which, in some cases, were taken with violence and without consideration. He suspended payments to creditors; and in return for payments in money he rendered legitimate the sons of the clergy. Against these abuses the Cortes from time to time protested; and they, moreover, petitioned that luxury in dress might be abated, and that the king himself might set the example. In reply to the petitions for restrictions on expenditure in matters of dress, Philip II issued the remarkable edict of October 25, 1563.

The scale on which the royal household was ordered also made a draft on the resources of the kingdom. To reduce these expenditures was the object of frequently repeated petitions by the Cortes to the king. The members of the Cortes wished for the court and the nation a simpler form of life, and in this they were supported by the bulk of those who had intelligent opinions on public affairs. They called the attention of the king to "the pernicious effects which this manner of living necessarily had on the great nobles and others of his subjects, prone to follow the example of their master."

Philip's financial outlook and the condition of the country in the nineteenth year of his reign are characterised in a note written by him to his treasurer: "Having already reached," he said, "my forty-eighth year, and the hereditary prince, my son, being only three years old, I cannot but see with the keenest anxiety the disorderly condition of the treasury. What a prospect for my old age, if I am permitted to have a longer career, when I am now living from day to day without knowing how I shall live on the next, and how I shall procure that of which I am so much in need!"[1]

[1] Gayarre, *Philip the Second*, 268.

And yet, with a deficit increasing from year to year, he entered upon the building of the Escorial. The cost of constructing this remarkable edifice and providing the interior decoration amounted to about 6,000,000 ducats, a sum equal to $30,000,000 at present, or more than the total revenue of the kingdom of Castile for a year at that time. And although it may have laid a burden on the nation, yet, according to Alonso de San Geronimo, it at the same time "placed the Almighty under obligations of gratitude to the king." This monument of economic folly was designed by the king to stay the current of social progress. According to his own declaration, he intended to make a bulwark unconquerable by the new doctrines, a stronghold in which the throne and religion should be sheltered so securely that they might not be reached by the ideas then agitating the world. It was important for the economic condition of Spain that the building of the Escorial set a fashion for the magnates of the realm. They felt called upon to manifest their pious zeal in founding churches and monasteries and in purchasing relics. Whatever influence these institutions exerted on the spiritual welfare of the nation, it is clear that they were not powerful factors of economic progress. We may count, also, as a hindrance to economic growth the great number of holidays, set apart primarily for exercises of devotion, but which came to be days of pleasure, developing in the people a spirit opposed to that persistent effort necessary to an advance in material well-being.

Burdened with national poverty and ruinous foreign wars, Spain was at the same time afflicted with a series of kings, whose increasing incapacity culminated in the imbecility of Charles II. The proceeds of oppressive taxation were in large part either stolen on the way to the treasury or squandered later by favourites on unworthy dependents. In nearly every respect, except by the marvellous bravery and endurance of her explorers and pioneers,

Spain was unfitted to make wise use of her unrivalled opportunities for colonial enterprise.

Throughout their history the Spanish dependencies in America witnessed a prolonged conflict between two opposing parties. One of these parties represented the ecclesiastical fanaticism that had been engendered by the war against the Moors. The members of this party exaggerated the influence of baptism on the Indians, and found their views opposed by a large number of persons who were not moved by the crusading spirit, but who were drawn to the Indies by their love of adventure or their insatiable avarice, and who had no regard for the Indian except as an instrument to be employed for their advantage. The strife between these two factions constituted an important feature of the internal history of the dependencies; and, after the protest of Las Casas, it assumed the form of the advocacy of the freedom of the Indians by one party, in opposition to the determination of the other party to obtain through them material gain by some form of servitude.

THE SPANISH DEPENDENCIES IN SOUTH AMERICA

CHAPTER I

CASTILLA DE ORO

I. The governorship of Santo Domingo. II. The expeditions of Ojeda and Nicuesa. III. The discovery of the Pacific. IV. Pedro Arias Davila. V. Letter of Vasco Nuñez de Balboa to the king. VI. Pedrarias' hostility to Vasco Nuñez.

I

A FEW of the islands now called the West Indies, the island of Trinidad, and a small part of the north-eastern coast of South America, comprised all of the New World that was known to Europeans at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The outline of the continent—in fact, everything beyond this near horizon—was still hidden in the darkness that had covered it for immemorial ages. What was known of the mainland had been revealed by Columbus on his third voyage, when, after he had discovered the island of Trinidad, he crossed the Gulf of Paria, and sailed along the coast towards the west. After Columbus' third voyage, this region was visited by Alonso de Ojeda in 1499. He was accompanied by Juan de la Cosa and Amerigo Vespucci; he explored the coast of Paria, and sailed westward and entered Lake Maracaibo. On the shore of this lake he discovered a village, or a collection of huts built on piles over the water, which was inhabited by members of a tribe known as the Onotes.

The discoverers called this village Venezuela, or little Venice, a name which was later applied to the province, and became the appellation of a state after the war for independence.[1]

A short time after Ojeda's return to Spain, Rodrigo de Bastidas, of Seville, sailed from Cadiz, taking with him as pilot Juan de la Cosa, who had been a member of Ojeda's expedition. Bastidas touched at La Vela, and proceeded westward along the coast. He passed the mouth of the

[1] The leader of this expedition, Alonso de Ojeda, was born in Cuenca about 1468, and died in Santo Domingo in 1514 or 1515. He was brought up under the patronage of the Duke of Medina Celi, and was engaged in the wars against the Moors. He accompanied Columbus on his second voyage, and acquired fame by his many daring exploits.

The following are the principal discoverers who made voyages to South America in the sixteenth century:

COLUMBUS 1498–1504
To Trinidad and the mainland; Central America (Honduras) and the coast of the Isthmus.

NIÑO, GUERRA 1499
To the pearl coast (Venezuela).

OJEDA, AMERIGO VESPUCCI 1499–1505
To Guiana, Venezuela, and the northern coast of South America.

BASTIDAS, JUAN DE LA COSA 1500
To Venezuela, Cape de la Vela, Magdalena River, Gulf of Urabá, and the coast of the Isthmus.

PINZON 1500
To Brazil south of the equator; mouth of the Amazon.

DIEGO DE LEPE 1500
To Brazil south of the equator; and sailed along the coast to Venezuela.

ALVAREZ CABRAL 1500
To Brazil, lat. 16° 20′ south.

DIAZ DE SOLIS 1506, 1508, 1515
To Honduras, Yucatan, and Brazil (with Pinzon); Rio de la Plata (1515).

VASCO NUÑEZ DE BALBOA 1513
To the Pacific Ocean.

MAGALHÃES 1520
To the Strait of Magellan.

ANDAGOYA 1522
To the region between the Atrato and the Pacific.

FRANCISCO PIZARRO 1524-1541
To Peru.

Madgalena River in March 1501. He reached the Gulf of Urabá, and, turning about Cape Tiburon, advanced some distance along the coast which was later known to be the coast of the Isthmus.[1]

Ojeda made a second voyage to Tierra Firme in 1502, this time with the intention of establishing a colony, but the hostility of the Indians and the failure of his associates, Vergara and Ocampo, to agree with him induced him to abandon his design. Vergara and Ocampo finally went so far in their animosity as to cause Ojeda to be sent in irons to Santo Domingo, and later to Spain, where he showed that the accusations against him were groundless.

In the beginning of the century, Santo Domingo was the principal seat of authority in America. The government that had been established there placed authority in an absolute governor. His power extended not only over the islands, but also over Tierra Firme. Columbus

Sebastian Cabot	1526
To Rio de la Plata, the Uruguay, the Paraná, and the Paraguay.	
Diego de Ordaz	1531
To the Orinoco and the Meta.	
Heredia, Pedro de	1533
To Tierra Firme (founder of Cartagena).	
Francisco César	1535
To Tierra Firme (Antioquia).	
Almagro	1535
To Chile.	
Quesada, Jimenez de	1537
To the plateau of Cundinamarca.	
Benalcázar	1537
To the plateau of Cundinamarca.	
Federmann	1537
To the plateau of Cundinamarca.	
Gonzalo Pizarro	1540
To the Napo, the Land of Cinnamon.	
Orellana	1540
To the Amazon, deserting from Gonzalo Pizarro's expedition.	

[1] Acosta, J., *Compendio histórico del descubrimiento y colonización de la Nueva Granada* (Paris, 1848), 21; Antunez y Acevedo, Rafael, *Memorias históricas sobre legislación, y gobierno del comercio de los Españoles con sus colonias en las Indias occidentales* (Madrid, 1797), i.

was the first governor, and was still in office in 1500. The fame of America had drawn into the colony, during the seven or eight years of its existence, a large number of adventurous and reckless spirits, who resented all efforts to subject them to the restraints of civilisation. The decent government of Columbus was detested by them, and they undertook to overthrow it by protests and accusations designed to discredit the governor. They were so far successful in this that they persuaded the Crown to order an inquiry into the state of the colony and an examination of the charges against Columbus. This task was entrusted to Francisco de Bobadilla, who arrived in Santo Domingo in August 1500. Endowed with full civil and criminal jurisdiction, he was authorised to supersede Columbus, in case, after due investigation, he found him guilty of charges that rendered him unworthy to be continued as the governor of the colony. He was, moreover, empowered to expel from the islands any person residing in them, or who might arrive there, if he thought such action necessary for the royal service or the purposes of justice. Persons thus ordered to depart might not interpose an appeal or supplication to the king, but were required to obey under penalties which the governor might impose in the name of the king.

The powers granted to Bobadilla were to be exercised by him only after an examination and conviction of Columbus; but Bobadilla found it advisable to assume authority at once, and to make his investigation afterwards. Having departed from the designs of the king, he felt the necessity of producing evidence of guilt on the part of Columbus, or of assuming the existence of such guilt; and thus, without waiting for conviction, he confiscated the admiral's property, subjected him to serious insults, and finally arrested him, placed him in irons, and sent him to Spain.

The barbarity of Bobadilla aroused indignation in Spain, and the arrival of Columbus in Cadiz as a prisoner,

in chains, moved the court to order that he should be released and treated with distinction. Both Ferdinand and Isabella showed him marked attention; but the ungenerous nature of Ferdinand caused him to doubt the advisability of restoring to the great admiral all of his former honours and powers; and although Bobadilla was recalled, Columbus was not reinstated, and the office of governor was conferred upon Nicholas de Ovando. The influential members of the colony evidently remained hostile to Columbus, even after the removal of Bobadilla; for when he appeared before the port of Santo Domingo, on his fourth voyage, in 1502, he was not permitted to enter. This refusal was, however, in keeping with the king's orders, who, by forbidding Columbus to land at Santo Domingo, hoped to obviate conflicts that might arise from the hostility of the colonists towards the admiral.

Denied the shelter of the port, Columbus weathered the storm which he had foreseen, and proceeded towards the continent. Off the northern coast of Honduras, he discovered the island of Guanaja. But at this time no discovery made any important impression on his mind, except such as seemed to indicate the existence of a strait, through which he might reach the Far East. Expecting to find such a strait, he sailed along the west coast of Central America, discovered the cape to which he gave the name of Gracias á Dios, and explored the northern coast of the Isthmus. Here he entered the bay which is called Porto Bello, and afterwards advanced as far as the Gulf of Darien. At this point Columbus relinquished his search for the illusive strait, and sailed for Jamaica, where he arrived with his ships in such a condition that only by the greatest efforts of their crews could they be kept afloat.

II

Among the other voyages made to the northern coast of South America in the first decade of the sixteenth century, the most noteworthy were those undertaken by Ojeda and Nicuesa. In 1508 they petitioned for authority to form settlements and establish governments in Tierra Firme. The grant to Ojeda embraced the coast from Cape de la Vela to the Gulf of Urabá, while the territory assigned to Nicuesa extended on the coast from the Gulf of Urabá to Cape Gracias á Dios, and was then called Castilla de Oro. Each promised to construct four forts, and to pay the king's fifth, and at the same time retained the right to return to Spain to enjoy the fortune he might acquire. In taking possession of these territories, the persons to whom they were granted were required to announce to the natives the principal articles of the Christian faith, to inform them of the supreme power of the pope over all the kingdoms of the earth, to cause them to know that the supreme pontiff had granted the country to the King of Spain, and to require them to embrace the doctrines of the Church and submit to their sovereign. In case the Indians refused to act in obedience to these requests, Ojeda and Nicuesa might make war on them and reduce them to slavery.[1]

Preparations for these expeditions encountered various obstacles both in Spain and in Santo Domingo. In Santo Domingo, Diego Columbus, the son of the discoverer, affirmed that the grants violated the agreement made by the Crown with his father. Ojeda and Nicuesa, moreover,

[1] For this remarkable document, see Herrera, *Dec.* 1, lib. vii. cap. 14; Acosta, *Nueva Granada*, 23–5; Robertson, *Works* (Edinburgh, 1819), viii. note 23; Gaffarel, *Nuñez de Balboa* (Paris, 1882), 7; Cuervo, *Documentos inéditos*, iv. 80–87; Capitulación que se tomó con Diego de Nicuesa y Alonso de Ojeda, *Colección de documentos inéditos de América y Oceanía* (Madrid, 1864–84) (42 vol.), xxii. 13–26; xxxii. 25–43.

fell into a serious dispute concerning the line of demarcation between their territories. By the intervention of Juan de la Cosa, it was finally agreed that the Rio Grande should be the separating line and the common boundary. Ojeda landed on the shore of the Bay of Cartagena, where he intended to form a settlement. The natives held aloof from the Spaniards, but when the invaders began to pillage the country, the Indians fell upon them with such force that seventy Spaniards were left dead on the field, among whom was Juan de la Cosa.

Shortly after this disaster, Nicuesa appeared in the Bay of Cartagena, and offered Ojeda the assistance of his troops, in spite of the strained relations that had existed previously between the two leaders. The Spaniards now in turn surprised the Indians of Turbaco, and surrounded and burned their village. Many of the Indians perished in the flames, preferring this fate to falling into the hands of their enemy, who, regardless of sex or age, were disposed to give no quarter to their captives. Retiring from this inhospitable region, Ojeda passed along the shore towards the west, and near the Gulf of Urabá, built a fort, or a stockade, and constructed about twenty houses of reeds and grass, and such other material as the country afforded. This settlement was called San Sebastian of Urabá.[2]

Here the Spaniards did not seek to establish friendly relations with the Indians, but made war on them at once. In these hostilities Ojeda was seriously wounded, and many of his soldiers were killed. The survivors returned to their

[1] M. de la Roquette published an account of Juan de la Cosa in the Bulletin of the Geographical Society, in Paris, in 1862, vol. iii. No. 17. A Spanish translation of this article is found in Acosta de Samper, *Biografías de hombres ilustres* (Bogotá, 1883), 33–9. This article contains a discussion of Juan de la Cosa's map of the north-eastern part of South America; *Doc. inéd.*, xxxii. 43–54.

[2] Cieza de Leon, *Crónica del Perú*, cap. vi., calls it San Sebastian de Buena Vista. Real Cédula declarando perthenescer el Golfo de Huraba, a Alonso Doxeda por fallarse en el término que le corresponde, *Doc. inéd.*, xxxii. 101–3; Real Cédula a Diego de Nicuesa, prevyniendole pertenscer a Oxeda, el Golfo de Huraba, *Doc. inéd.*, xxxii. 103.

fort, where they led a precarious existence, in spite of a cargo of supplies which they received from Santo Domingo. Ojeda caused his wound to be cauterised, and, in order to obtain better facilities for treating it, he felt obliged to return to Santo Domingo, where he died not long after his arrival. On withdrawing, Ojeda had placed the government of the colony under the direction of Francisco Pizarro, who, as one of the soldiers, had already given evidence of the firmness and courage which he displayed later in the conquest of Peru. The time fixed by Ojeda for his return to the colony having passed, the colonists determined to abandon their settlement and go back to Santo Domingo. They embarked in two vessels, but one of them was wrecked at the beginning of the voyage, causing the loss of many lives. The survivors encountered Enciso on the sea soon after this catastrophe. He had come from Santo Domingo with arms, men, and a supply of food for Ojeda. He persuaded the colonists to return to the fort, where they found the Indians in a friendly mood, and willing to furnish whatever supplies they possessed. But on entering the harbour he lost his principal vessel and a quantity of munitions and provisions, as well as a number of animals and various kinds of seed intended for the promotion of agriculture. In view of the fact that many of the colonists were dissatisfied with the position of the settlement, the advice of Vasco Nuñez de Balboa was sufficient to induce Enciso to abandon San Sebastian de Urabá, and, with his company of about one hundred followers, to establish the town of Santa Maria la Antigua del Darien, on the western coast of the Gulf of Urabá, within the limits of Nicuesa's grant.[1]

[1] "Although this town was inhabited by the Spaniards for a number of years, no trace of it now remains. It was abandoned because, on account of its low and marshy site, it was found to be unsanitary." Acosta, *Nueva Granada*, 32. According to Quintana, the Spaniards, fearing defeat in a battle with the Indians, commended themselves to Heaven and promised, in case they were victorious, to call the town which they would build in that region Santa Maria de la Antigua, in honour of a venerated image in Seville, *Vasco Nuñez de Balboa* (in "Vidas de Españoles célebres"), 3.

III

Various disputes arose at La Antigua almost as soon as the colonists were settled there. Vasco Nuñez de Balboa led a revolt against Enciso for the purpose of usurping his authority. Others held that the supreme power in the colony belonged to Nicuesa, since they were established within the limits of his territory. But Nicuesa was not in a position to direct the government, even if it had fallen into his hands. His ships had been scattered in a storm. Some of them had taken refuge in the mouth of the Chagres River, and in attempting to find the others, Nicuesa's ship was stranded. Not knowing where he was, he and his immediate followers wandered about in the forests and swamps of the shore. Starvation and diseases incident to the low lands of the tropical coasts carried off many of them, until finally Nicuesa gathered the remnants of his expedition at Nombre de Dios. Here he learned that La Antigua was willing to acknowledge him as its governor; but when his prospects seemed to be brightest, they were ruined by his lack of prudence. He informed the inhabitants of La Antigua that they must surrender the wealth they had acquired, without his consent, within the limits of his jurisdiction. He failed to appreciate that men who had endured what the colonists of La Antigua had suffered in accumulating whatever articles of value they had acquired would not hesitate at any act that would enable them to retain their possessions; and when they learned of the designs of Nicuesa, they repented of their former resolution, and agreed not to receive him. Therefore, on his arrival with a company of seventy persons, he was informed that he could not disembark.

He offered to forego the position of governor, and take the post of the humblest soldier, so that he might not be driven away to perish, without food, in his rotten vessel at sea, or at the hands of the merciless Indians on shore.

The colonists were deaf to his entreaties, and stood by their resolution. Some of the company were allowed to land, but Nicuesa and sixteen loyal followers were obliged to sail away, March 1511, to an unknown fate; and thus in obscurity ended Nicuesa's expedition of seven hundred men who left Santo Domingo in search of fortune and glorious adventure. In the year 1510 more than a thousand persons perished in explorations and settlements on the coast from Cartagena to Nombre de Dios—more, in fact, than were required for the conquest of Mexico, or to take possession of the kingdom of Peru.[1]

A mutiny led by Vasco Nuñez had deprived Enciso of power, and in the election of municipal officers which followed, the leading positions had fallen to Vasco Nuñez and Samudio. In order to be relieved of the presence of any person who might legitimately claim to share the government of the colony with him, Vasco Nuñez persuaded Samudio to go to Spain to render to the court an account of the many Indian tribes he had conquered, and of the unfortunate end to which the incapacity of Nicuesa had brought his expedition. At the same time Enciso, whose property had been confiscated, was sent away; and Vasco Nuñez was thus freed from the embarrassment of persons who might aspire to be his rivals.

By proceeding against the caciques of the region about his settlement, Vasco Nuñez found a certain amount of gold, and, what was more immediately important, stores of food. Towards the north-west lay the territory of the powerful cacique, Comogue, whose house is described as extending along one side of a plaza one hundred and fifty yards, built of heavy timber, and covered with a thatched roof.[2] From Panquiaco, the son of Comogue, Vasco Nuñez received his first information concerning the existence of the

[1] Acosta, *Nueva Granada*, 37.

[2] Sir Clements Markham, *The Conquest of New Granada* (London, 1412), 65, says, "The house of the Comogue chief was 150 feet long by 80 feet broad."

Pacific Ocean. Disgusted by the greed displayed by the Spaniards in distributing their gold among themselves, Panquiaco said that if it was the wish to collect gold that had brought them from their country and compelled them to go about disturbing the peace of others, he would show them countries where the most common vessels were made of that metal, and where they might bring together heaps of gold sufficient to satisfy the most insatiable appetite; but that for this enterprise their small force was inadequate; for it would be necessary to cross the chain of mountains which appeared in the distance, and in which dwelt warlike tribes of Caribs; that they would need a thousand soldiers in order to reach the other sea, where they would discover men navigating the ocean in great sailing ships.[1]

The statement of Panquiaco incited Vasco Nuñez to make inquiries concerning the distance to the other ocean; and his mind was quick to form a plan to reach it. In the meantime he undertook various excursions into the region about La Antigua. He ascended the Rio Grande, now known as the Atrato, and was assisted in his explorations by Colmenares. He found that the ill-repute of the Spaniards had preceded him; and in some instances the Indians did not wait to receive their guests, but abandoned their villages and fled to the forests. In other cases, however, the Indians were bold enough to gather themselves together and fall upon the Spaniards, even without other arms than their war-clubs. During this expedition, Vasco Nuñez saw the number of his men gradually decrease by disease, by the hostility of the Indians, and by accidents through which some of his boats were wrecked.

Under these circumstances he waited with anxiety for the return of Samudio, who had been sent to Spain, and Valdivia, who had sailed for Santo Domingo to obtain

[1] Acosta, *Nueva Granada*, 42; Vasco Nuñez de Balboa's letter to King Ferdinand, January 21, 1513, printed in Gaffarel, *Nuñez de Balboa*, 29–61.

recruits and supplies. Valdivia had been gone a year, and Samudio two years. Impatient under the inactivity necessitated by his want of men and equipment, Vasco Nuñez meditated a voyage to Spain to make a report on his achievements, and to obtain reinforcements for an expedition to the undiscovered ocean. His projected departure filled his followers with the greatest anxiety, for they saw that the absence of their leader would cause a scattering of the Indians who had been brought into subjection, and the complete destruction of their settlement at La Antigua. But this anxiety was finally allayed when he determined to remain with the colony and send Juan de Caicedo and Rodrigo Colmenares to Spain.

Vasco Nuñez's prospects were finally improved by the arrival of two vessels from Santo Domingo, bringing men, arms, and provisions. From these recruits, and from the colonists already on the Isthmus, he organised a force of one hundred and ninety men, with a thousand Indian carriers, and entered upon his march. He began his advance from the shore towards the south on the 1st of September. He recognised that, having only a small force of Spaniards, it would be necessary to preserve friendly relations with the Indian tribes through whose territory he was obliged to pass. He sent messengers to Poncha, the principal chief of this region on the northern side of the mountains, who, persuaded of the Spaniard's friendly intentions, furnished him guides to show him the most favourable route. But near the summit of the mountains they encountered the cacique Quareca, who assumed a very different attitude, and threatened to kill all persons who might enter his territory. For the belligerent cacique this proved to be an unfortunate determination; for Vasco Nuñez, not in a mood to withdraw and give up his enterprise, led his little force to a furious assault. Before the firearms, the sharp swords and spears, and the fierce dogs of the Spaniards, the Indians were able to offer little or no resistance. The chief and six hundred

of his men were killed, others were made prisoners, and the rest fled in confusion. Among the Indians found in their village near the place of conflict, some were caring for the houses, dressed as women. These, who were thought to be " corrupted with an unnatural crime, were thrown to the dogs, who tore them in pieces " (Herrera). It is reported that more than forty suffered this horrible death.

Vasco Nuñez made a special effort to conciliate the survivors of the tribe who had thus heroically attempted to defend their country from the encroachment of the strangers. He found them docile, took them into his service, and sent back to their chief the Indians who had been furnished by Poncha. Leaving here some of his own men, he continued the ascent of the mountain, until the Indians pointed out to him the summit from which he would be able to see the object of his search. Here, then, was enacted the dramatic scene of discovering the Pacific Ocean. Vasco Nuñez ordered his men to halt, while he went up to the height indicated, and, prostrating himself on the earth, looked out upon the hitherto unknown shore of the Pacific. His followers were then permitted to behold the object of all their toil and danger, while the Indians gazed with astonishment upon acts that might well have convinced them that the Spaniards were worshippers of the ocean. The date of this discovery was the 25th of September 1513.[1]

[1] On their expeditions, the Spaniards were careful to have a notary in the company, to attest, and make record of, important events. The notary of Vasco Nuñez's expedition for the discovery of the Pacific was Andrés de Valderrábano, who described himself as " notary of their Highnesses at the Court and in all their kingdoms and seigniories." The notarial document is in the following form: " The cavaliers, knights, and gentlemen who were present at the discovery of the South Sea, in the company of the very noble lord, Captain Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, governor in the name of their Highnesses, of Tierra Firme, were the following." Here follow the names. The notary then affirms that he was present, and formally attests the truth of the foregoing statement, adding, " I say that these sixty-seven men are the first Christians who saw the South Sea. I was with

The discovery of the Pacific confirmed the truth of a part of Panquiaco's statement, and removed any doubt which Vasco Nuñez and his companions may have had with respect to the rest of it. They believed that the shore which lay before them was the place of which they had been told, where the ordinary vessels of domestic use were made of gold, and where any desired quantity of that metal could be gathered. No other incentive was needed to induce the company to finish the march in the shortest time possible. Vasco Nuñez sent out three parties to find out the shortest route to the shore. The little party of twelve men, commanded by Alonso Martin de don Benito, made the journey in two days, and was the first to reach the sea. The next to arrive was the party under the command of Francisco Pizarro; and Vasco Nuñez with his company arrived a little later, when he took formal possession of the sea and all of its shores in the name of his sovereigns.

The journey from Cape Tiburon on the Atlantic, across the Isthmus, to the Gulf of San Miguel, consumed the whole of September. The greater part of the time was

them, and I count as one of them." Gaffarel, *Nuñez de Balboa*, 73–75; Acosta, *Nueva Granada*, 49; *Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, xix. 487.

On the discovery of the Pacific Xavier Vergara says: "El único testimonio indiscutible de ese gran suceso se encuentra en las *Actas* del Escribano Valderrábano, que acompañaba la expedicion, y las escribió sobre el terreno, por orden del 'magnífico y muy noble señor el Capitan Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, Gobernador por sus Altezas en la Tierra Firme, para que del y dellos quedase memoria.' Segun esas Actas, la gente de Balboa sólo ascendí a el 25 de Septiembre á 67 hombres; en la cima del cerro no se levantó otro monumento que una cruz muy alta; el nombre de San Miguel se puso al Golfo, por devoción de Balboa y no porque ese día se llegara á él; 27 hombres fueron los primeros que probaron las aguas del mar del Sur; 24 los que primero lo navegaron, y fue el 22 de Octubre cuando en realidad se tomó posesión del Océano Pacifico." Vergara y Velasco, *Capítulos de una historia civil y militar de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1906), 2, note 1.

In his *Memoria* (p. 344) to his successor, the Duke of Palata affirms that the ocean discovered by Vasco Nuñez was called the Pacific, because, by reason of its inaccessibility, the commerce which passed over it needed no armed protection, since it was not exposed to hostility from any source.

required for the march along the coast and up the eastern side of the range; while the descent from the summit to the Gulf of San Miguel, for the party that moved most rapidly, required only two days.

During the few days spent in excursions about the gulf, the Spaniards collected a certain amount of gold, but not as much as they expected to find. With this gold, and a large number of pearls, they turned back from the Pacific, and recrossed the Isthmus. This journey was marked with greater hardships than their previous march. They suffered for want of food; they were weakened by exposure under the most unfavourable climatic conditions; and when they arrived at the house of Panquiaco, who had succeeded to the headship of the tribe on the death of his father, Comogue, Vasco Nuñez had to be carried in a hammock, and his companions were able to walk only when supported by Indians. After they had enjoyed for some days the hospitality of Panquiaco and his tribesmen, they felt themselves sufficiently recovered to go on to La Antigua, where food and other supplies had been received from Santo Domingo a short time before their arrival. Vasco Nuñez and sixteen of his men entered the village in triumph, after an absence of four months, bringing richer spoils than had been acquired on any previous expedition. They had gold valued at more than a hundred thousand dollars, and an abundance of pearls, making in all a sum equivalent to more than a million specie dollars of the present.

The leader's satisfaction with the results of the expedition was increased by the fact that, in spite of privations, disease, and the temporary hostility of some of the Indians, he had not lost a man. Vasco Nuñez, at this point of his career, was at the zenith of his good fortune. No discovery since those made by Columbus promised more fruitful consequences, or was designed to give greater satisfaction to the authorities of Spain. It even awakened the dull imagination of Ferdinand. When all the members of the

expedition had arrived at La Antigua, the fifths of the gold and the pearls were set apart, and Pedro Arbolancha was sent to Spain to present them to the king, and at the same time to solicit for Vasco Nuñez the governorship of Castilla de Oro. But already, before the arrival of Arbolancha, Pedro Arias Davila had been appointed to the desired post, and he had left Spain in April 1514. Vasco Nuñez's messenger did not reach the court until the following month. This unfortunate turn of affairs was largely due to the influence of Enciso's hostile reports and protests at the court.[1]

The idle men in the early Spanish settlements were often a source of serious embarrassment, and sometimes the governors or chief officers of such settlements caused expeditions to be organised, in order that the idlers, who threatened to become disturbers of the peace, might be called to an occupation away from the town. This motive was not wanting in the expeditions organised by Vasco Nuñez after his return to La Antigua. The first was led by Andrés Garavito, and was designed to find a direct route to the Pacific, a route that would obviate the necessity of going along the shore to Careta. Somewhat later, Vasco Nuñez led a company of about three hundred men against the Caribs, who occupied a region towards the south on the Atrato River. It was expected that they would offer little or no resistance, and in the first encounter the Indians were driven away. The Spaniards then proceeded to plunder the houses abandoned by the enemy. While thus scattered throughout the village, the Indians took advantage of their disorganised state, and

[1] According to Markham's prophetic vision, "had the news of Balboa's success reached the Spanish Court a few months earlier, the fate of half a continent would have been changed. A young and statesmanlike ruler, instead of a cruel and passionate old dotard, would have settled the Isthmus of Panama; and the humane and enlightened Vasco Nuñez, instead of the ruthless and illiterate Pizarro, would have been the conqueror of Peru." Markham's Introduction to Andagoya's *Narrative*, xx.

returned to the fight, killing or wounding more than a hundred of the Spaniards. The leader was wounded twice, and withdrew from the undertaking defeated.

IV

During the period of these expeditions, information concerning the riches of Tierra Firme had aroused an unusual enthusiasm in Spain. The court was moved to fit out a fleet larger than any that had hitherto been sent to America. It was composed of nineteen ships, and carried fifteen hundred men, besides the crews and a number of women. It was placed under the command of Pedro Arias Davila (Pedrarias), appointed to be the governor of Castilla de Oro. Like many other expeditions sent by Spain to America, this one embraced a considerable number of persons who were quite out of place under the semi-savage conditions of civilisation's new frontier; men who had contracted debts in order to equip themselves for a campaign in Italy, which was expected to be attended with great display, but which was never undertaken. In an evil hour they were drawn into this great expedition, where, without funds, and without the necessary practical knowledge, they became useless and burdensome members of the new community.

The fleet left Spain, April 12, 1514, and, near the end of May, arrived at the port of Santa Marta, and a few days later reached the Gulf of Urabá. Some of Vasco Nuñez's companions thought that, with their force of four hundred men, they might prevent, and ought to prevent, the forces of Pedrarias from landing; he, however, suppressed all agitation that seemed to contemplate such a purpose; and, gathering the members of his community together, went to the shore to receive the new leader. Commenting on Vasco Nuñez's narration of the events connected with the discovery of the Pacific, Pedrarias expressed the wish to make the passage from one ocean to the other safe,

and to this end proposed to establish three presidios, or military posts, on the road across the Isthmus.[1]

The new governor, who was ordinarily known as Pedrarias, was attended by Hernando Fuenmayor as *maestre de campo*, and by a council which included, among others, Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo, the author of the *Historia General de las Indias*, and the friar, Juan de Quevedo, who had been appointed to be the Bishop of Castilla de Oro. The arrival of Pedrarias imposed upon Vasco Nuñez the obligation to submit himself to the residencia, or a judicial examination of charges brought against him with reference to his public acts. This was conducted by Espinosa, the alcalde-mayor, and, as a result of it, the discoverer of the Pacific was absolved from most of the charges that had been brought to the attention of the judge. He was pardoned for his usurpation of the government of Nicuesa, and for his revolt against Enciso. He was, however, required to surrender some thousands of dollars that had been confiscated from Enciso, when he supplanted that officer in the government of the colony. Pedrarias would have been pleased if a severer sentence had been rendered, a sentence that would have eliminated the accused as a rival; for the hostility prompted by jealousy which appeared in many cases among rival leaders in the New World, became manifest very early between Pedrarias and Vasco Nuñez. The governor proposed to conduct the affairs of the colony without availing himself of Vasco Nuñez's knowledge or experience. But the actual condition of the settlement demanded the exercise of all the wisdom that might be obtained from any source. More than fifteen hundred persons were added to a community where only inadequate provision was made for the original population of four or five hundred. There was lack of

[1] Among those who arrived with Pedrarias were, Juan de Quevedo, the bishop, Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés, the historian, Martin Fernandez de Enciso, the geographer, Sebastian de Benalcázar, the conquistador of Quito and Popayan, Hernando de Soto, the explorer, and Pascual de Andagoya, the governor of New Castile.

food, and " men of noble birth were seen in the streets of La Antigua offering their rich clothing of brocades and silks in exchange for a piece of corn bread." [1]

Fever became epidemic, and about seven hundred soldiers died within two months. Pedrarias left the village to seek a more healthful place of abode, and granted many of his men permission to return to Spain.

Seeing his forces gradually diminishing, Pedrarias determined to make excursions into the neighbouring country while he was still able to command the requisite number of men. These excursions were not undertaken for the sake of discovery, but simply for the sake of robbery. The friendly relations which Vasco Nuñez had laboured to establish with the Indians were disregarded, and every consideration of honour and humanity was made to yield to the single purpose to acquire gold. The soldiers became bandits, and stole everything upon which they could lay their hands—even the cotton rags which the Indians wore about their bodies—and finally they seized the Indians themselves and sold them as slaves. The history of these years in this colony is painfully full of instances of treachery and deceit; of chiefs coming with gifts to receive the Spaniards only to find themselves robbed, their houses plundered, and their families carried off into hopeless bondage.

V

But some of the tribes were aroused to offer a vigorous resistance to the encroachment of the Spaniards. Vasco Nuñez's letter to the king, dated October 16, 1515, gives expression to this hostility, and affords glimpses of the condition of affairs on the Isthmus. It also throws light on the character of Pedrarias:

" The caciques and the Indians, who were like lambs,

[1] Acosta, *Nueva Granada*, 62.

have been turned into furious lions. Their sentiments have so completely changed that to-day they are emboldened to steal and to kill the Christians, before whom they formerly never appeared, except with their hands full of gifts. Such is the consequence of the treatment to which they have been made to submit by the captains who have been sent here. They have murdered without cause numbers of the caciques and Indians, and they have rendered themselves culpable by stealing not only their farms, but also their children and their wives. . . . The first captain sent on an expedition into the interior was Juan de Ayora. If he had been punished for his numerous exactions from the Indians, who were at peace with us, the other captains who commanded later expeditions would not have had the audacity to commit all the excesses and all the crimes with which they have stained this continent. . . . I can, in all sincerity, assure your Highness that in certain districts, where the caciques have been in the habit of offering presents of gold, and have done this two or three times, and have brought provisions as well, the captains have gone to the places where they kept their women, their provisions, and their gold, and there pillaged everything, reducing all persons to slavery without any conscience. It happened that one day a cacique gave a present of eighteen hundred pesos of gold, and at the same time a Spanish captain stole from him his provisions and three thousand pesos, took his children and women, and reduced them to servitude. All these crimes, and others graver still, have remained unpunished. For that reason there is not a cacique or an Indian in all the region who is at peace with us, except the cacique of Careta, who pretends to be so because he is our immediate neighbour. It is, therefore, necessary, your Highness, and it will be a wise administrative act, to send some one empowered to make an inquiry into what has happened. As soon as your Majesty is informed of the state of things, you will take the necessary measures. I am able to swear, your Highness, that

if this state of affairs continues even a year longer, the country will be absolutely ruined, and nothing can be done to remedy it. . . . Behold, your Highness, what events have transpired since my last letter. A captain left here with one hundred and twenty men. He went in the direction of Urabá, and advanced about twenty leagues into the interior of the country. But the Indians surprised them and massacred fifty of them. The others have returned, worn out and in a miserable condition; however, they have brought back three thousand pesos of gold. Another captain crossed the Gulf of St. Miguel, and landed at the island of Rica, in the archipelago of the pearls. He had taken eighty men with him. The Indians killed twenty-five of them. The survivors were obliged to retreat fighting, and to return here. Your Majesty should know that an act of abominable cruelty was committed on this expedition, so cruel that even the Arabs or any other people in their conflicts with the Christians never permitted anything like it. On returning with the men who had escaped, and with about one hundred Indian men and women, for the most part women and little children, all chained together, the captain, named Gaspar Morales, and who is of the suite of the governor, gave the order to cut off the heads of all of the prisoners, putting them all to the sword so effectually that not one Indian, man, woman, or child, escaped, except those who were reserved by the captain for himself, and a few Indian women of the isle of Rica. As a result, continuing the journey, they were surprised by a cacique, and they lost a number of men, who were very cruelly massacred. . . . In the month of June 1515, I wrote to your Highness that I was going into the province of Dobaiba, taking two hundred men, with the intention of reaching, if it might be pleasing to God, a country where we thought would be discovered the greatest amount of wealth to be found in these regions. I departed from here with one hundred and eighty men, and went to the province of Dobaiba, and we entered into

a somewhat important village, where the natives fled on our approach. We caught some of them, who guided us to the house of the cacique, who had also taken flight. We met some persons who informed us that there were mines in the interior of the country; that the province of Dobaiba was full of gold; and that within ten days' march from where we were there were rich mines where all the caciques went to get gold. I waited ten days for the cacique, without being able to get into communication with him. I was obliged to return because there was nothing to eat at Dobaiba; the grasshoppers had devoured everything. . . .

"We left that place to go up the Rio Grande to look for provisions, which we intended to leave in the boats before going into the interior of the country. We agreed that one party should go to the province of Ibebeiva, while I should proceed towards a village of fishermen, which was two days' march from there. Luis Carillo got into one boat and I into another; and, with two other boatloads, we were about fifty men. Unfortunately, we encountered seven or eight boats full of Indian warriors; and as the Christians, especially those recently arrived from Castile, did not know how to manage the boats, the Indians attacked us with their spears, and, before we could turn ourselves around, thirty of our men were wounded, some of them in four or five places. As for me, I received a blow on the head, which placed me in great danger, but, thank God, I have recovered. Yet I lost my boat. Not being able to land it, I was obliged to abandon it. Luis Carillo and those in the other two boats succeeded in beaching their boats, and then they defended themselves. It pleased God that Carillo should receive the thrust of a sword in the chest, from which he died on his return here. They lost also two other men.

"On this account we returned to the place where we had left the rest of the company, who had had great difficulty in procuring food, and we even were prevented from

giving them any because there was very little in the country, on account of the grasshoppers. I resolved, after consulting the officers and thero persons who had come with me, to return to Santa Maria, because, for the time being, there were no resources, and, if we should venture farther into the interior, famine would carry off the greater part of our men. In spite of this obstacle, we did not lose courage, because at present we have certain knowledge of the riches of this country. Therefore, when we can get more boats and provisions, we shall, with God's help, return. Your Majesty will receive adverse reports concerning this project, but I beg you will not give credit to such statements, for they are founded on envy and ill-will. . . .

" In regard to the affairs of the government and colonisation, Pedrarias would do well to pay more attention to advice than he does at present. If, by chance, any one tries to counsel him, he thinks he is being deceived. He is suspicious of everyone, excepting such persons as he thinks may be useful to him. On various occasions he has been unduly severe with the regidores because they made certain suggestions to him, which were for the good of your Majesty's service, and for the benefit of public affairs. He treats in this manner all who have the courage to contradict him. There is no man in the world who is so devoured by jealousy and greed. Nothing irritates him so much as to see a friendly feeling manifested among gentlemen. He likes to hear persons say evil things of one another. He is a man who, without reflection, believes in evil rather than in goodness. In the administration of affairs he is neither orderly nor energetic, and he is without capacity. In a word, he is a man who, in the opinion of everyone, in order to gain a peso of gold, would neglect your Majesty's service and forget his own honour." [1]

[1] An English translation of an earlier letter by Balboa to the king, dated January 20, 1513, is printed in Markham's Introduction to Andagoya's *Narrative*. The original form of this letter of October 16, 1515, is printed in *Doc. inéd.*, ii. 526–38. A French translation of it is found in Gaffarel, *Nuñez de Balboa*, 113–27.

While it is possible that Vasco Nuñez's criticism of Pedrarias may have been sharpened somewhat by the rivalry of these leaders, there is no doubt that these extracts from this letter convey a true intimation of his desire for peaceful relations with the Indians. If the Indians were suspicious and hostile, this was a state of things for which the Europeans, here as well as elsewhere, were usually responsible. By the peculiar facilities for communication possessed by the natives, the outrages of one district were speedily known elsewhere. When, therefore, an expedition was sent to the eastern side of the Gulf of Urabá, the Indians there were found to be not less resolute than others in their own defence. Of the seventy men led against them by Francisco Vallejo, forty-eight were lost; and in the punitive campaign which Francisco Becerra undertook against the victors, practically all of the one hundred and eighty men of the force were cut off. Here, as in all their dealings with the Indians, the Spaniards experienced much ill-fortune in their departure from the way of peace and conciliation.

During the years 1515 and 1516, the territory of the Isthmus between the Gulf of Urabá and Nombre de Dios was overrun by various companies in search of the gold to be found in the possession of the chiefs who occupied this region. In these campaigns horses were first used on the continent by the Spaniards. The Indians were terrified by them, for they believed they would bite like the dogs that on other occasions had caused havoc among them. In this period were founded the fort and settlement of Acla, and, at the same time, under Pedrarias' orders, Gonzalo Badajós went to Nombre de Dios, hoping to establish a route from that point to the South Sea, which would not be infested by hostile Indians. At Nombre de Dios he found the site of the previous settlement covered with the bones of Nicuesa's men who had perished there by starvation and fever. Finding his soldiers frightened by this horrible spectacle, and determined to return, he

sent away his ship immediately, thus leaving them no alternative but to follow him. For thirty days he continued his campaign against the rich caciques of the Isthmus, with varying vicissitudes, and, at the end of this period, entered La Antigua with less than half of his men, and with only insignificant spoils.

VI

It was in this period that Bishop Quevedo undertook to set aside the hostility that had arisen between the governor and Vasco Nuñez, by arranging a marriage agreement between the latter and Pedrarias' daughter; and when this was accomplished, the bishop fancied that his object had been attained. When this understanding had been reached, the discoverer of the Pacific set out for the southern shore of the Isthmus with eighty volunteers. He proceeded by way of Acla, where he found the post almost entirely depopulated. Already he had formed a plan to visit the region towards the south, which was reported to abound in gold. Knowing the lack of timber on the southern coast suitable for building ships, he determined to take it from the forests near Acla, have it carried over the mountains by Indians, and cause it to be floated down a river that emptied into the Pacific. In this enterprise Vasco Nuñez encountered grave difficulties. The timber gathered at first proved to be useless, and this part of the work had to be done again. Here a new embarrassment was encountered in the reduced number of Indians in his service; for more than one-half of the original number engaged had perished under the severe labour of carrying the heavy timber. Two vessels were finally completed; and this fact, apparently indicating Vasco Nuñez's determination to proceed to the conquest of the rich country to which Panquiaco had referred, magnified the jealousy of Pedrarias, and filled him with fear lest the brilliant ex-

ploits of his rival would bring into clear light his own ineffectiveness and the unimportant achievements of his four years on the Isthmus. This jealousy furnished the principal motive of a tragedy which cut off in his best years one of the wisest and most truly heroic characters of this heroic age.

When Pedrarias had definitely determined upon the destruction of Vasco Nuñez, he complimented him on his achievements and his prospects, greeted him with manifestations of affection as his dear " son-in-law," and called him to Acla for an interview. He wished to discuss the proposed voyage, and give certain final instructions which it would not be discreet to entrust to a messenger in written form. Vasco Nuñez at once acceded to the request, and hastened to Acla, where Pedrarias immediately caused him to be imprisoned, and charged with seeking to make himself independent of the king in the lands which he discovered. In spite of the lack of evidence to substantiate the charge, Vasco Nuñez was condemned to death. Espinosa, the alcalde-mayor, protested against the execution of this sentence, holding that even if the prisoner were guilty of a capital offence, his great services entitled him to considerate treatment. Pedrarias, however, immediately issued a written order that he should be executed without delay. Neither the protests of Vasco Nuñez nor the sympathy of the colony with him had any effect on the governor, who, in committing this murder, was unfortunately protected by the prerogatives of his position. But this outrageous crime made a sufficient impression on the king to induce him to recall Pedrarias; and he appointed Lope de Sosa, the governor of the Canary Islands, to succeed him. Sosa died almost immediately after his arrival in Darien, and the case against Pedrarias, falling into the hands of persons dominated by him, ended in a mockery of justice.[1]

[1] Acosta, *Neuva Granada*, cap. iv.; Gaffarel, *Nuñez de Balboa*, chap. xi.; Pierre Martyr, *Dec.* III, chap. i.; Quintana, *Vasco Nuñez de*

Irritated by his dependence on a municipal council, Pedrarias, in 1518, determined to retire to the southern shore. Here he found the vessels constructed by Vasco Nuñez, and sailed off in them as far as the island of Taboga. But no advantage accrued to him or to anyone else from this voyage. He lacked the spirit to seize the great opportunity before him, and enter upon the undertaking that had appealed to the imagination of Vasco Nuñez and awakened the ambition of Pizarro. He founded the city of Panama, and, in 1519, he received from the court permission to transfer thither the cathedral and the population of La Antigua of Darien. This city, the first permanent settlement in the new kingdom of Granada, became later especially conspicuous by reason of its position at the southern end of the route across the Isthmus, which was finally adopted as a section of the line of traffic between Spain and Peru.

The prosperity of Castilla de Oro had been chiefly due to the energy and practical wisdom of Vasco Nuñez, and with his death the affairs of the colony fell into a more or less stagnant condition. The more active minds, dissatisfied with their prospects on the Isthmus, turned to further exploration and conquests; and they were urged to these undertakings by the persistent rumours of a rich kingdom farther towards the south. With Vasco Nuñez dead, and the governor incompetent to initiate a great enterprise, the way was clearly open for new adventurers to enter the field. It was under these conditions that Pizarro, Almagro, and Luque formed their agreement to explore the region along the southern coast, and, if possible, to bring to light the wealth which was said to be there concealed.

The cases of Columbus and Vasco Nuñez de Balboa

Balboa, in *Bib. de Aut. Esp.* (Madrid (Rivadeneyra), 1852), xix. 281–300. In *Capítulos de una historia civil y militar de Colombia*, pp. 1–6, Javier Vergara y Velasco presents evidence that Vasco Nuñez was executed in 1518, and not in 1517, the date given by many writers.

offer two conspicuous instances of the failure of the Spanish Government to deal justly with its most distinguished subjects. These men undoubtedly had some of the weaknesses of our common heritage, but they conferred upon the nation they served honour and opportunity which no other nation ever enjoyed; yet it was the fate of both to fall as victims of governmental ingratitude and perversity. There was nothing in the experience of the king on which he could rely for guidance in affairs of which the Old World had no knowledge; and the character of the information, the petitions and the advice which reached him was naturally determined by the purposes and antipathies of the persons from whom it was received. The long intervals between the arrivals of vessels from America often induced the king to act without waiting for confirmation or support for information or advice sent from the Indies. For this reason action was sometimes taken on prejudiced advice, resulting in grave injury to a worthy person, or in detriment to the common weal. Yet, in spite of the difficulties of communication, and the malevolence of subordinates, it is impossible to absolve the Crown from blame for the humiliation of Columbus or from indifference to the tragic fate of the discoverer of the Pacific.

CHAPTER II

EXPLORATION AND SETTLEMENT OF NEW ANDALUCIA

I. Pearl-fishing and the slave-trade. II. The early missions. III. Ocampo's campaign. IV. Las Casas' colony. V. Sedeño. VI. Diego de Ordaz and the exploration of the Orinoco. VII. Diego Francisco de Serpa.

I

THE territory known as Nueva Andalucia was that which forms the north-eastern part of the republic of Venezuela. It extended from the eastern coast of Paria and the Dragon's Mouths on the east to the river Unare, which separated it from the province of Venezuela, on the west. The northern boundary was the ocean, but the southern boundary was undefined, and was regarded as lying somewhere in the Orinoco region. Its capital was the town of Cumaná.[1]

For several years after the first explorations, the northern part of South America was favourably considered chiefly for the slaves which it furnished; in fact, "all of America then discovered was converted into a vast slave-market,"[2] and the few tribes that were not exploited in this way were those that were able to defend themselves and their liberty with their poisoned arrows.

Many of the slaves who were not taken to Santo Domingo were employed in pearl-fishing. This industry led to the establishment of a town on the island of Cubagua,

[1] Demarcación y división de las Indias, *Doc. inéd.*, xv. 438. This document, of 130 pages, contains a geographical description of the district and towns of the Indies.

[2] Acosta, *Nueva Granada*, 22; Humbert, *Les origines vénézuéliennes* (Paris, 1905), 31.

off the northern coast of Venezuela. This town was called New Cadiz, and its early prosperity is indicated by the fact that the royal fifths set apart for the treasury amounted in 1509 to 15,000 ducats. Enslaving the Carib Indians was permitted under the law of 1503, and in the eyes of the settlers every Indian was a Carib. But New Cadiz flourished for a period, and, with its solidly-constructed houses, had the appearance of a well-established town. In 1527 the emperor granted the inhabitants the right to elect an alcalde, who would have the authority of a judge in civil and criminal cases. There was also created a council of eight regidores, whose authority extended over the whole island of Cubagua.[1]

[1] The regidores were: Giraldo de Vierne Andrés Fernando, Vicente Dávila, Francisco de Portillo, Alonso de Rojas, Pedro de Alegría, Martin de Ochandiano, and Juan López de Archuleta. Ochandiano acted as treasurer of the island, and Archuleta was made *veedor*—comptroller, or inspector, of the finances. Humbert, *Origines*, 193; Rojas, A., *Estudios historicos*, Caracas, 1891, 18.

Codazzi, Agustin, *Resúmen de la geografía de Venezuela* (Paris, 1841), 258; Rojas, A., *Estudios históricos*, 6–10; "Y Cubagua, después de cincuenta años de haber sido descubierta por Colon, volvió á ser lo que en los tiempos prehistóricos," *ibid.* 9. Las Casas referred to the pearl-fishing as an instance of the cruel treatment of the Indians by the Spaniards:

"The tyrannie which the Spanish exercise over the Indians, to fish for Pearles, is one of the cruelest that is in the world. There is no hell in this life, nor other desperate state in this world, that may be compared unto it: although that the Trade of Gold finding be, in his kind, very grievous, and very miserable. They let them into the Sea, three, foure, or five fathome forth downe right under water, from the morning untill Sun-set, where they are continually flitting without stint, to plucke Oysters, in the which are engendered the Pearles. They surge up above the waters, with a Net full of Oysters to take breath: where standeth readie a Spanish Tormentor, in a little Cocke Boate, or a Brigantine, and if the poore wretches stay never so little while to rest themselves: they all do be buffet them with their fists and draw them by the haire into the water to returne to their fishing. Their sustenance is fish, and the same very fish which containeth the Pearles, and the bread Caçabi, or some Maiz, which are the kinds of bread of that Countrie, the one of very slender nourishment, the other is not easie to bee made into bread, of the which also, they never give them their belly full. The beds that they lodge them in a nights, is to set them by the heeles, their bodies recoyling on the cold ground,

The first expedition of filibusters in Venezuelan waters appeared off Cubagua in 1528. It was directed by the French, and consisted of three vessels and one hundred and sixty men. One of the vessels, a caravel, had been taken from the Portuguese on the sea. Oviedo y Valdez and Herrera present more or less contradictory accounts of the achievements of the French on this occasion, but there is reason to believe that they exerted no serious influence on the business of the island. Hereafter the pearl-fisheries of the island of Coche, which had been granted to Archuleta, the veedor, successfully rivalled those of Cubagua. But the inhabitants of Cubagua established posts on the minland, and found an additional source of income in the slave trade. Indians were captured and taken to Cubagua for sale, and this island became the first great slave-market in the New World.[1]

The trade in Indian slaves was practically confined to America, and pearls remained the most important articles of the early commerce between Spain and Tierra Firme; but the products of the pearl fisheries diminished rapidly towards the end of the sixteenth century, and, before the end of the seventeenth century, the industry had ceased. The beds of the oysters that had produced the pearls had become exhausted. The demand for them,

in a paire of stockes for feare of running away. Sometimes they are drowned in the Sea, and at their fishing and travell picking of Pearles, and never rise up againe above the water: because the Bunches (Sharkes) and whirlepooles doe kill them and eate them." Casas, Bartolomé de las, *Brevissima relacion de la destruycion de las Indias*, Sevilla, 1552. This quotation is from the translation entitled, *A briefe Narration of the destruction of the Indies by the Spaniards;* written by a Frier Bart. de las Casas, a Spaniard, and Bishop of Chiapa in America" (in *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (London, 1625), lib. viii. chap. 4; also in the same work, Glasgow, 1906, xviii. 134.). On the making of caçabi, or casava, bread from the roots of yuca, &c., see Juan and Ulloa, *A Voyage to South America* (London, 1760), i. 68; i. 126–8, for description of pearl-fishing off Panama; Depons, *Voyage à la Terre-Ferme* (Paris, 1806), ii. 340.

[1] Rojas, A., *Estudios históricos*, 20, 26; Humbert, *Les origines vénézuéliennes*, 197–9.

moreover, was somewhat lessened by the use of diamonds; and in the meantime the Venetians had carried to great perfection the art of making imitations of the finest pearls. With the cessation of pearl-fishing, the wealth of Cubagua disappeared. After 1533 it was not important, and, ten years later, the island was overwhelmed by the sea. It was ruined by the earthquake and the hurricane; but its declining population continued to carry on a diminishing trade in slaves until 1550, when Cubagua was finally abandoned, and became what it has since remained, a desert island without vegetation, without water, and without resources of any kind.[1]

II

In 1510 the Dominican friars, Pedro de Cordova and Juan Garcés, undertook to form a settlement on the mainland of South America, shortly after the establishment of the order in Santo Domingo. Antonio de Montesinos, who was associated with them in the beginning, fell ill on the voyage, and disembarked at Porto Rico, and remained there while the others went on to the continent. After their arrival, they undertook the construction of the first monastery in South America, and, in 1513, caused the first mass to be celebrated. They sought to form permanent relations of peace with the Indians, and if they were not successful in this, the failure was due to the arrival of a company of Spaniards, who came to engage in pearl-fishing. The Indians, who usually took refuge in the forests at the sight of strangers, on this occasion determined to remain, trusting that the friars would protect them. The cacique and seventeen of his men were induced by friendly promises to visit the ship of the pearl-fishers, and, when they were on board, the captain set sail for Santo Domingo, carrying off his guests to be sold as slaves. The Indians

[1] Rojas, A., *Estudios históricos*, 34.

who remained in Cumaná resented this treachery, and wreaked vengeance on the unoffending friars, who became martyrs through the greed of their countrymen.

Five years later, in 1518, a number of Dominicans and Franciscans determined to continue the work that had been checked by the death of Garcés and Cordova. The Franciscans established themselves in the building constructed by their predecessors, and the Dominicans built their monastery five leagues farther towards the west, in the land of the Chichiribichi. For two years the Dominicans laboured in peace among the natives; then, in 1520, there was a new outbreak of hostilities. The Indians entered the monastery, pretending that they came to attend mass. They killed the two priests who were there, and nine other persons whom they found in the monastery. They carried off the ornaments, and whatever else they discovered that seemed to them valuable.[1]

III

The missionaries apparently furnished no adequate cause for this sudden uprising; they doubtless suffered for the iniquity of others. The natives could not forget that it was the countrymen, perhaps the kinsmen, of the missionaries who had carried off their tribesmen, and sold them into slavery. The destruction of the monastery of Chichiribichi was followed by a punitive expedition under the command of Captain Gonzalo de Ocampo, whose instructions were dated January 20, 1521. In these instructions he was ordered to capture the cacique Maraguey, his brother, and all the caciques and Indians of this province, whom he was able to take, and to send them to Santo Domingo, in order that justice might be done. Ocampo was ordered to make a cruel war upon any Indians who

[1] Humbert, *Les origines vénézuéliennes*, 210.

might offer resistance, capture them, and pacify the country. On the voyage to the continent, Ocampo halted at Porto Rico, and there met Bartolomé de las Casas. Las Casas had recruited a company of labourers in Spain, and had received a royal concession which permitted him to establish them on two hundred and sixty leagues of the coast between Paria and Santa Marta. With two hundred colonists he had left Seville for Tierra Firme, and now wished to go to the continent, but Ocampo informed him that, owing to the revolt of the Indians, the execution of his peaceful mission was then impossible.[1]

From Porto Rico Las Casas went to Santo Domingo, where he showed his commission to the authorities, and informed them that his colonists were waiting for him in Porto Rico. He, moreover, asked that Ocampo should be recalled; but that officer, with four caravels, had already left Porto Rico for Tierra Firme.[2]

Ocampo left three of his vessels at Cubagua, and arrived at the coast of Maracapana with a single ship. He ordered that only five sailors should appear on deck after he had reached the port, and that the soldiers and the rest of the sailors should remain concealed. The little show of force gave the Indians confidence, and they were finally induced to go on board; then, at a signal given by Ocampo, all of the soldiers rushed on deck and made the Indians prisoners. At the same time a sailor who had

[1] Asiento y capitulación de Bartolomé de las Casas, que hizó con S. M., sobre descubrimiento y población en Tierra Firme, desde la provincia de Pária hasta la de Santa Marta, por la costa del Mar, *Doc. inéd.*, vii. 65–89. This document was issued on the 19th of May 1520. The territory assigned to Las Casas is described as including the province of Paria, and extending along the coast to the Province of Santa Marta, comprehending about 260 or 270 leagues. The terms of the grant are set forth in thirty-two sections which furnish an important illustration of the ideas of the Spanish government respecting America. A series of supplementary documents adding details or an extension of the asiento, are found in *Doc. inéd.*, vii. 89–109.

[2] Quintana, *Fray Bartolomé de las Casas* (Bib. de Aut., Esp.) (Madrid, 1867), xix. 432, 451; Gomara, *Hist. de las Indias*, cap. 77; Baralt y Diaz, *Hist. de Venezuela*, cap. 7.

been detailed for the purpose, fell upon and killed the cacique Gonzalez, who had remained in his boat.[1]

The destruction of the cacique and the imprisonment of a large number of his men left Ocampo free to carry out his designs of vengeance without fear of opposition. But in order to terrify the Indians who might still be hostile, he hung some of his prisoners to the yards of the ship, and then went on shore and continued his campaign of cruelty and outrage. Of the natives who fell into his hands, some were put to the sword, others were hanged, still others were impaled; but a greater number were sent to Santo Domingo and sold as slaves. While some of his men were employed with the vessels transporting Indians to Santo Domingo, the rest of the company founded a town about half a league from the mouth of the Cumaná River. This town was called New Toledo.

IV

While Ocampo was hunting Indians for slaves and founding the town of New Toledo, Las Casas was trying to persuade the authorities of Santo Domingo to assist him to carry out his plans. Finally, with one hundred and twenty men who had been placed at his disposal, he set sail for Porto Rico, where he expected to add to his company the colonists whom he had left on that island. But in this he was disappointed; for, without means of support, they had disbanded, and were scattered throughout the island. On reaching the mainland, Las Casas found Ocampo with his little army at New Toledo, reaping the reward of his merciless conduct. His supply of food was precarious; the natives were not subdued, and in their sullen hostility, were disposed to do what they were

[1] Herrera, *Dec.* II, lib. ix. cap. 16; Rojas, A., *Estudios históricos*, 80; Quintana, *Obras*, 452; Benzoni, *Hist. del Mondo Nuovo* (Venetia, 1572), 33; Humbert, *Les origines vénézuéliennes*, 217.

able to further the progress of famine. The fierce Ocampo had run his course. With no further prospects in the country, he gathered together his men and the majority of those who had come with Las Casas, and departed for Santo Domingo.

Las Casas, surrounded by a few men who were personally attached to him, had to face a condition of affairs that would have disheartened a less brave or a less hopeful leader. He turned to the Franciscans of the neighbouring monastery, who aided him in constructing a building near the monastery in which to store his provisions and munitions. He then began to build a fort near the mouth of the Cumaná River, as a means of defence against the Indians and the slave-traders of Cubagua, who not only enticed away the men at work on the fort, but also continued their depredations in that region, making impossible the development of a centre of civilisation at New Toledo. Las Casas returned to Santo Domingo to solicit the assistance of the audencia, leaving Francisco de Soto in charge of the little colony, with strict orders not to allow their two ships to leave the harbour, but to hold them ready as places of refuge in case of an attack by the Indians. These orders were not obeyed, and both of the vessels went in search of slaves, pearls, and gold. When the Spaniards were thus deprived of means of escape, the Indians rose against them, destroyed the building erected by Las Casas, plundered the monastery, murdered Padre Dionisio, and mortally wounded Francisco de Soto. The few survivors fled, and, putting off from the shore in boats, were enabled, by great good fortune, finally to reach the ships, several leagues away, and were taken to Santo Domingo, where they joined Las Casas in urging upon the audencia the necessity of re-establishing Spanish authority on the continent. A new expedition was finally organised, and placed under the command of Captain Jacomé Castellón. It consisted of three hundred men and five caravels, and left Santo Domingo near the end of 1521. When

Castellón arrived at the coast of Cumaná, he sent out men in all directions to spread terror among the natives, and let it be known that the Spaniards had returned to avenge the overthrow of Las Casas' colony and the destruction of the Franciscan monastery. All the Indians who had participated in these acts were captured, and either executed or sold into slavery in Santo Domingo. Peace was at last temporarily restored to the region of the coast, and Castellón undertook to complete the fortress that Las Casas had begun. He also founded, in 1523, New Cordova, near the ruins of New Toledo. This was the beginning of the city of Cumaná. Castellón founded also the town of Asuncion, on the island of Margarita.[1]

V

After the foundation of New Cordova, the special attention of explorers was called away from that part of the northern coast, and directed to the region about the lower Orinoco and the Gulf of Paria. This region became the goal of numerous expeditions that sacrificed wealth and lives with little or no permanent results. In 1530, Pedro de Acosta, with three hundred men, made a settlement on the delta of the Orinoco, but it was destroyed by the Carib Indians.

Antonio Sedeño, an officer of the royal treasury in Porto Rico, desiring to extend his name and fame, and to spread the Catholic faith by the reduction of the Indians, petitioned the court for a licence to occupy the island of Trinidad. In response to his petition, he was granted the privilege desired, together with the title of governor of lands which he might conquer, and also that of adelan-

[1] Beralt y Diaz, *Hist. de Venezuela* (Curazao, 1887), i. cap. 7; Quintana, *Obras*, 452–4; Rojas, A., *Estudios históricos*, 86, 87; Humbert, *Les origines vénézuéliennes*, 218–20; Fabié, *Vida y escritos de Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, Obispo de Chiapa* (Madrid, 1879), i. cap. vi.; *Doc. inéd.*, vii. 109–16; xli. 289–92.

tado, but under the condition of fulfilling certain specified obligations, such as the duty to found cities, erect churches and hospitals, and the other obligations usually imposed by the Spanish king on discoverers. But, on account of failure to meet these requirements, he never held the title of adelantado. In 1530, he left Porto Rico with seventy men in two caravels, and landed on the island of Trinidad the same year, having with him stores of provisions and a certain number of domestic animals. The natives were at first friendly, and appeared at the place of landing in great numbers to receive gifts of combs, knives, bells, glass beads, and other articles of European manufacture. Sedeño, moreover, established amicable relations with the cacique, Chacomar, which were maintained after the members of the other tribes had turned against him. The encroachments of the Spaniards in their search for food, and the opinion spread among the Indians that their guests intended to establish themselves permanently in the island, produced, in the course of time, an unfriendly attitude, and even active hostilities. As a result of the assaults of the Indians, the Spaniards found themselves under the necessity of obtaining recruits. Sedeño, however, saw that to leave his men on the island during his proposed visit in Porto Rico to enlist the desired additional troops would be to expose them to complete destruction. After various conferences and anxious deliberations of the leaders, it was finally decided to remove the company to the mainland, and there erect a stronghold for their protection. In their fort in Paria the men were to wait for the return of Sedeño. The construction and occupancy of the fort aroused the Indians to suspect the Spaniards, and moved them to prepare for war. In the meantime, the Spaniards, with evil forebodings, saw their supplies gradually diminish, and the prospect of replenishing them from the country became more and more remote. In Porto Rico the outlook of Sedeño was not flattering. The court of Spain considered

that his expedition, after a year's experience, had failed, and issued orders that the Indians he had taken to Porto Rico should be returned to their country.[1]

VI

Shortly after the foundation of Cumaná, the King of Spain granted New Andalucia to Diego de Ordaz, and appointed him governor, adelantado, and captain-general. From the revenues granted with the titles and territory, Ordaz was required, in accordance with a usual formula, to maintain a certain number of dependents, an alcalde-mayor, a physician, a surgeon, an apothecary, thirty peons, and ten squires. He might introduce fifty negro slaves, and receive twenty-five horses and twenty-five mares from the king's stock in Jamaica.

Taking with him the force he had recruited at Seville, he sailed from the port of San Lucar in the beginning of

[1] Simon, Pedro, *Noticias historiales de las conquistas de Tierra Firme en las Indias occidentales* (Bogotá, 1882–92), i. 58–64; Caulin, Antonio, *Historia coro-graphica natural y evangelica de la Nueva Andalucía* (1779), 129–34; Michelena y Rojas, *Exploración official desde el norte de la America del sur* (Brusselas, 1867), lib. i. cap. 6. Pedro Simon was born in Parrilla, in the bishopric of Cuenca, in Spain. He studied the humanities in the monastery of San Francisco, in Cartagena, and arrived in Bogotá in 1604, with the design of devoting himself to instruction in theology and letters. In 1623, he was elected Provincial, and at the same time began his voluminous writings, making use of the materials he had been collecting for a number of years. His arrival in Bogotá was only about seventy-five years after the earliest of the events which he describes, and he was a participant in some of the latest. He visited various parts of New Granada and Venezuela, Coro, Antioquia, Cartagena, and Santa Marta, and everywhere he received oral accounts and written statements, which, in addition to the archives of his monastery, constituted the basis of his extensive narrative. This narrative has the following title: *Noticias historiales de las conquistas de Tierra Firme en las Indias occidentales.* The first part was published in Cuenca in 1627. This constitutes the first volume of the complete edition, which was issued in Bogotá during the years 1882 to 1892. Vergara, *Historia de la Literatura en Nueva Granada*, 75; Acosta, *Nueva Granada*, 379–82; see also *Prologo al Lector*, in the first volume of Simon's work.

1531. Some weeks later he arrived on the coast of Paria, with the design of entering at once upon the exploration of the Orinoco. The meeting between the Indians and the Spaniards indicated that both parties wished to maintain friendly relations with one another. The Indians informed the governor that there was another company of Spaniards established within the limits of his jurisdiction. On investigation these proved to be the twenty-five soldiers who had been left in their fort by Sedeño, the explorer of Trinidad. Ordaz immediately undertook the construction of vessels for the river voyage; and, when these were completed, he set out to explore the course of the Orinoco. In this expedition he suffered the embarrassment of too large a force, an embarrassment which apparently prevented the successful execution of many of the plans of early exploring expeditions. In this case the vessels were so large that when the wind failed it was difficult to manage them against the current. Moreover, the work of rowing them was too severe for the men, particularly as they soon became enfeebled by fever and other diseases induced by the hot, damp atmosphere of the lower stretches of the river. In the first weeks three hundred men died, and many of the others became too weak to offer any assistance in the undertaking. But the survivors were so numerous that it was impossible to find either in the stores of the vessels or among the Indians sufficient food for them; and when the Indians assumed a hostile attitude, or burned their villages and fled, the members of the expedition appeared to be in the presence of starvation.

In spite of the hostility of the Indians, the sickness of the soldiers, and the scarcity of food, Ordaz advanced as far as the mouth of the river Meta. Here the strength of the current made it difficult, if not impossible, to proceed farther; and, remembering the disabled men who had been left at Uriapari, he determined to go down the river, take them on board, and return to the fort at Paria. But

Ordaz's troubles did not end with the voyage. On the contrary, disputes arose with Sedeño, and Ordaz was arrested by Sedeño's orders and conducted to Santo Domingo. He was there brought before the audiencia, and that court set him at liberty. In 1532, he was on the island of Cubagua, and died there of poison while preparing to return to Spain.[1]

Geronimo Ortal was appointed to succeed Ordaz as governor of New Andalucia. In the meantime, notices of the agreeable climate, the abundant products, and the large population of the region had been carried to Spain; and many persons, who had been made to think of the country as a terrestrial paradise, sold their property, took with them their wives and children, and exchanged their native country for a land that for them proved to be a land of misfortune and misery.

Arriving at the fort of Paria in 1535, Ortal found Alonso de Herrera and his twenty-five soldiers full of fear and anxiety, since they were reduced to such a state by their want of food that they were unable to withstand the Indians, who threatened to overwhelm them. Governor Ortal appointed Herrera to be his lieutenant-general. Ortal's plan laid stress on exploration and the slave-trade. In carrying out the first part of the plan, Herrera undertook a journey into the interior. He constructed a number of small vessels, and ascended the Orinoco as far as the mouth of the Meta. He entered this stream, but he had only gone a short distance when he found further advance difficult on account of the shallowness of the water, the failure of supplies, and the hostility of the natives. In a skirmish with the Indians here Herrera was killed, and, after this event, the command of the expedition passed to Alvaro Ordaz, a nephew of Governor Ordaz. The new commander consulted with his officers and men, and determined to turn back and return to the coast.

[1] *Carta de Xácome de Castellon a Su Magestad*, May 26, 1532, *Doc. inéd.*, xli. 338–41.

This second attempt to explore the Orinoco was quite as fruitless as the first. If it cost fewer lives, this more favourable result was due in part to the fact that fewer persons were involved. For Governor Ortal, who had remained on the coast during Herrera's voyage up the river, there was little or nothing in the results of the slave-trade, or of any other of his enterprises, to compensate for the failure of the expedition to acquire the untold riches that were imagined to exist in the region of the Meta. The soldiers who had returned after a year and a half on the banks of the Orinoco, where much of the time they had been face to face with famine, went about like skeletons, and were deaf to the call of the governor, who wished to gather a force for a new undertaking.

The fear of poisoned arrows, and the hard conditions to which the soldiers had been subjected, during the expeditions to the river Meta, curbed the enthusiasm for exploits that threatened to be repetitions of the experiences of earlier journeys; still there were leaders, both in the province and elsewhere, who were anxious to lay hold on the riches of El Dorado. Sedeño not only wished to return to Trinidad, but also hoped to be permitted to take part in the exploration of the mainland. This ambition brought him into conflict with Governor Ortal, whose territory he invaded; but the contest was not long, for Sedeño died on an expedition into the interior, miserably poisoned by one of his slaves. His followers then elected a new captain, but when they saw no prospects of realising their expectations, they mutinied, sent their captain to Santo Domingo as a prisoner, and dispersed.

VII

For two or three decades after this event, or until 1568, the province of New Andalucia was neglected, and the few inhabitants were barely able to maintain themselves. On May 15 of that year, the King of Spain bestowed the title and power of governor on Diego Fernandez de Serpa. Serpa left Spain with several hundred soldiers and colonists, and reached New Andalucia in 1569. He landed on the coast near Cumaná, where he found the colonists introduced by Castellón in a miserable state, and willing to abandon their settlement. Serpa had brought with him a hundred married men with their families. Twenty-three of these he left here, and they joined the survivors of Castellón's colony, and organized the municipality of Cumaná, or reformed the town of New Cordova and gave it a new name. The members of the ayuntamiento were appointed on the 24th of November 1569. Having completed these arrangements, Serpa set out on a campaign against the warlike tribe of the Cumanagotos, who occupied the coast region between Cumaná and Piritu. Many of his soldiers had had military experience in European wars, and with them he intended, as soon as the enemy was subdued, to march southward to the Orinoco. In order to be free from the embarrassment of having a large number of non-combatants in his train, he formed a town under the name of Santiago de los Caballeros. Here he left the women and children, with a sufficient number of armed men to protect them, and proceeded southward about fifty miles, where the Cumanagotos, allied with the Chacopatas, enraged by the evident purpose of the Spaniards to establish themselves in the country, prepared to attack the invaders. In this encounter Serpa and one hundred and eighty-six of his men were killed, although the battle lasted only about an hour. The rest of the

Spanish force, a large number of whom were severely wounded, escaped into the hills, and, in great confusion, found their way back to the town of Santiago de los Caballeros. Within a few days after reaching the coast, the majority of the wounded died. The Indians pursued the fugitives, and besieged the town where they had taken refuge. During fourteen days the Spaniards resisted the attacks of the natives, and at the end of this period Captain Francisco de Carceres appeared with soldiers, munitions, and a supply of food. But even with the assistance of the reinforcements it was not thought advisable to attempt to maintain the settlement, on account of the number of hostile natives in that region. The survivors of the little army and the settlers of Santiago de los Cabelleros were, therefore, embarked for Cumaná and the island of Margarita, and many of them later went to Bogota.[1]

Expeditions to New Andalucia succeeded one another at irregular intervals. Many repeated the unfortunate experience of those who had preceded them. Captain Juan Ponce obtained a grant of the island of Trinidad, and, towards the end of 1571, he arrived at the island with his brilliant train of soldiers, immigrants, and priests. A few days after this event, his company was smitten by a scourge of the plague, which left alive only a feeble and terror-stricken minority of those who had landed. The few who escaped the ravages of the pestilence abandoned the island, leaving it depopulated, without prospects of a better state. In spite of the misfortunes which attended the conquest of this part of Tierra Firme, there was a slow but gradual increase of the population on the mainland.[2]

[1] Baralt y Diaz, *Hist. de Venezuela*, i. 239–41; Humbert, *Les origines vénézuéliennes*, 221–4; *Doc. inéd.*, iv. 467; Caulin, *Hist. de Nueva Andalucía*, lib. ii. cap. 9; Rojas, A., *Estudios históricos*, 224; Simon, *Las conquistas de Tierra Firme*, i. 352.

[2] Caulin, *Hist. de Nueva Andalucía* (1779), 109–67; Simon, *Las conquistas de Tierra Firme*, i. 64–73; Gumilla, *El Orinoco ilustrado* (Madrid, 1745), i. 29.

The first edition of Gumilla's *El Orinoco illustrado* appeared in the same year as Cassani's *Historia*, namely, in 1741. It is based on the

work of Rivero. It was printed in Madrid, and a second edition was issued in 1745. The full title is: *El Orinoco illustrado, y defendido, historia natural, civil, y geographica de este gran rio, y de sus caudalosas vertientes: govierno, usos, y costumbres de los Indios, sus habitadores, con nuevas, y utiles noticias de animales, arboles, frutos, aceytes, resinas, yervas, y raices medicinales; y sobre todo, se hallaran convetsiones muy singulares á N. Santa Fé, y casos de mucha edificacion.* Under his name on the title-page, Gumilla describes himself as a member of the Society of Jesus, missionary, superior of the missions of the Orinoco, Meta, and Casanare, *calificador* and *consultor* of the Holy Tribunal of the Inquisition of Cartagena of the Indies, synodal examiner of the bishopric of Cartagena, sometime provincial of that province of New Granada, and actual procurador of the missions and the province.

CHAPTER III

THE FOUNDING OF SANTA MARTA AND CARTAGENA

I. The expedition of Bastidas. II. Vadillo as governor. III. Lerma's administration and his interim successor. IV. Heredia, the founder of Cartagena. V. The pillaging expedition to the graves of Zenú in 1534.

I

DURING the period of the early efforts to explore and colonise New Andalucia, more successful attempts were made to establish settlements on the northern coast of South America, farther towards the west. In 1525, Rodrigo de Bastidas left Santo Domingo for the continent with four ships,[1] and on the 29th of July of this year founded the town of Santa Marta. He brought to his undertaking a determination to gain the good-will of the natives by humane and considerate treatment. He formed treaties of peace with the tribes who occupied the territory about the place which he had selected for his settlement. But this policy was not approved by his associates. He determined, moreover, not to distribute among his men the gold which fell into his hands, until the expenses of his military equipment had been met. On this point there was also a disagreement, as well as with respect to the plan to take nothing from the Indians by force. Some of the members of the expedition, irritated by the designs of Bastidas, and led by his lieutenant, Juan de

[1] Capitulación que se tomó con Rodrigo de Bastida para la población de la provincia y puerta de Santa Marta, *Doc. inéd.*, xxii. 98–106.

Villafuerte, formed a conspiracy to murder him. They broke into his quarters, stabbed him, and left him for dead. Captain Rodrigo Palomino answered his call for assistance, and drove off the conspirators when they returned to finish their work. Defeated in their second murderous assault, they fled to the forest to escape the vengeance of the indignant settlers. In the forest they were pursued by the Indians, and were obliged to seek refuge in the town. They were here arrested, and sent to Santo Domingo for trial, where they were condemned and executed. Some of the conspirators, who did not dare to return to the town, were lost in attempting to cross from Tierra Firme to Santo Domingo in a boat. Bastidas appointed Palomino his lieutenant-general, and empowered him to manage the affairs of the colony; and in this manner he recognised the services of Palomino, who had defended him. Bastidas then went to Santo Domingo to be treated for his wounds, and died a little later in Cuba.[1]

[1] Groot, *Historia de Nueva Granada* (Bogotá, 1889), i. 5. Castellanos states the reason of Bastidas' destruction in *Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, iv. 260.

> "Según los que más saben de este cuento,
> Fué principio y origin de sus males
> No consentir hacer maltratamiento
> Ni robos en aquellos naturales."

Lorente, *Conquista del Peru*, 7, describes Bastidas as "uno de los pocos Europeos que en aquella época de crueles injusticias buscaban á los indios, no para explotarlos desapiadadamente, sino para atraerlos á la civilizacion con los goces apacibles del comercio." Pedro Simon, *Las Conquistas*, ii. 3, refers to Bastidas as a "vecino de Triana en Sevilla, hombre de buena fama, sangre, calidad y estima." Piedrahita, lib. iii. cap. 1. See "Capitulación que se tomó con Rodrigo de Bastidas para la poblacion de la provincia y puerto de Santa Marta," Madrid, November 6, 1524.

The metrical chronicle of Juan de Castellanos, in its relation to the early history of New Granada, calls to mind Ercilla's *Araucana* in its relation to the early events of Chilean history. Castellanos was born in the little town of Alanis, in the province of Seville, in the first part of the sixteenth century. He left Spain as a soldier, began his military career in Porto Rico, and was later at Paria and in the islands of Trinidad and Cubagua. He was transferred to the island of Margarita after the earthquake which caused all of the colonists of Cubagua to remove to Margarita. In 1550 he was living at Cape

II

When the death of Bastidas became known to the audiencia of Santo Domingo, that body appointed Pedro Vadillo to be the governor of Santa Marta. Palomino, however, refused to yield the post of authority to Vadillo, and an armed conflict appeared to be inevitable. Vadillo had under his command a body of only about two hundred men, not enough to warrant him in undertaking to suppress Palomino by force. Fortunately the two parties agreed to unite and recognise both leaders as equal in authority until the return of the messengers from Spain with the decision of the court. Palomino, continuing his campaigns against the Indians, was drowned by his horse losing his footing in attempting to ford a river. The disappearance of Palomino left Vadillo without embarrassment in exercising his rapacious designs with respect to the natives. He penetrated the interior of the country, crossed the sierra Tairona, and, by a military occupation of many months, converted flourishing and happy valleys

de la Vela, and a little later he is known to have been at Santa Marta, where he remained until 1552. He was in Cartagena when that town was taken by pirates in 1559. While here he became a priest, and was appointed to be the treasurer of the cathedral, but he refused to accept this office, and removed from the diocese. He was finally established at Tunja as the parish priest, and here he wrote his *Elegias de varones ilustres de las Indias*. At Tunja he spent his old age in peace, but the time of his death is not known. It is known, however, that he was living in 1588, for in his writings he refers to events which occurred in that year. The first part of the *Elegias* was printed in 1589; the second part was printed near the end of the century; and the three parts were issued together in the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, in the fourth volume.

Reference may be made to three accounts of Castellanos. The first is contained in the *Introduction* to the *Historia del Nuevo Reino de Granada*, by Antonio Paz y Mélia (Madrid, 1886), vol. i. 9–47. The second is a thin volume of one hundred and six pages, by Marcos Jiménez de la Espada (Madrid, 1889), called *Juan de Castellanos y su historia del Nuevo Reino de Granada*. The third is Schumacher's *Lebensbild*, found in *Hamburgische Festschrift zur Erinnerung an die Entdeckung Amerika's* (Hamburg, 1892), ii. 145–296.

into scenes of desolation and misery. From this campaign, which lasted a year, Vadillo returned to Santa Marta with a large quantity of gold and jewels, and as many slaves as the soldiers could take charge of, who, like thousands that had preceded them, were destined to perish miserably under the tasks imposed upon them in the islands. Reports of Vadillo's avarice and cruelty having reached the court, he was sent to Spain for trial, but he was lost off the coast of the Peninsula. Thus, like both of his predecessors, the third governor of Santa Marta met a tragic fate.[1]

III

García Lerma succeeded Vadillo as governor of Santa Marta, and the beginning of his administration was contemporaneous with the establishment of the rule of the Welsers in Venezuela. In this period the authorities in Spain made another attempt to ameliorate the condition of the Indians. The new governor was required not to sanction the enslavement of the natives, but to exercise all possible diligence in discovering, in the islands and elsewhere, the Indians who had been drawn from his territory and reduced to slavery. At the same time it was made his duty to restore such persons to the districts from which they had been taken; and the audiencia of Santo Domingo was ordered to assist in this work of justice and humanity. It was presumed that the governor would be assisted in attempts to execute these orders by the twenty ecclesiastics who had accompanied him to America, and particularly by the famous preacher, Tomas Ortiz, who bore the title of Protector of the Indians. But the plan involved in these orders, like other pious designs of the Spanish government, was frustrated, because it was in opposition to the interests of the colonists.

[1] Acosta, *Nueva Granada*, 90–91; Simon, *Las conquistas de Tierra Firme*, ii. 12. See *Carta á Su Magestad de Rodrigo de Granada*, July 15, 1529, *Doc. inéd.*, 41, 284.

Governor Lerma brought several kinds of seed from Spain for the purpose of encouraging the cultivation of the soil, yet his attention was directed mainly to the exploration of the interior. Sometimes the members of the companies employed in this enterprise were received by the Indians in a friendly manner; but often they encountered open hostility, or were decoyed into positions where the natives might destroy them without danger to themselves. The Chimilas sometimes hung articles of gold at their doors, and then concealed themselves hard by, where from their ambush they might despatch the Spaniard with their poisoned arrows when he came to take away the gold. A number of attempts were made to explore the Magdalena River during Lerma's administration. An expedition under the leadership of Jerónimo Melo, a Portuguese, was fruitless, owing to the death of Melo in an early period of the undertaking. Under the direction of the priest, Viana, the river was explored to its junction with the Cauca. Viana and his men then followed this latter stream to its confluence with the San Jorje. Throughout their long and wearisome journey they found no inhabitants who seemed to have the gold they sought; and, finally, worn out, half-starved, and discouraged, they constructed rafts and floated down the river, and reached Santa Marta in the beginning of 1532.[1]

For the support of the ecclesiastics of the colony Governor Lerma granted an encomienda, which was to be held by Ortiz in their behalf. A little later Ortiz appears as the first bishop of Santa Marta. He undertook to make more humane the treatment of the Indians by the Spaniards, but he was able to accomplish little or nothing in opposition to the greed of the settlers and the practices already confirmed by custom. He, therefore,

[1] Benedetti, *Historia de Colombia* (Lima, 1887), 119–21; Groot, *Historia de Nueva Granada*, i. 6, 7; Acosta, *Nueva Granada*, 97–100; *Carta e relacion de Garcia de Lerma*, January 16, 1630, *Doc. inéd.*, 41, 293–314.

went to Spain to give the king an account of the condition of affairs in the colony, but died almost immediately on reaching the Peninsula.[1]

The alcaldes and regidores of Santa Marta issued a statement concerning the administration of Governor Lerma, in which they called attention to the hostility he had aroused among the Indians, and to the avarice and injustice he had displayed. They affirmed that when he arrived, a Spaniard might safely go alone forty leagues into the interior, and that the Indians would give him whatever he needed without doing him any harm; but, at the time of their writing, a company of fifteen mounted soldiers would not dare to go two and a half leagues from the port. In the beginning the Indians were so friendly that when the chiefs visited the governor they brought gold and jewels, and these things he received without sharing them with any other persons; whereas, in justice, having paid the part due the king, he should have given some part of them to the people. And when a soldier came to him to ask permission to go and excavate a grave which he had seen, he would grant this request only on condition that the soldier would give him a certain part of the spoil. They affirmed, moreover, that the governor, who had brought two miners, or stone-cutters, with him from Spain, by employing these and other persons in his service, he caused a number of graves to be plundered secretly before they were known to anyone else. On the truth of these and various other charges of greed, injustice, and favouritism, the alcaldes and regidores were willing to stake their lives and property.[2]

Before the return of Viana's expedition, the audiencia of Santo Domingo had appointed one of its members, the

[1] Groot, *Historia de Nueva Granada*, i. 11; Acosta, *Nueva Granada*, 91.

[2] . . . "decimos que nos obligamos, nuestras cabezas y haciendas, a hacer verdad y probar con toda esta cibdad lo que en este morial se contiene, que vá firmado de nuestros nombres." *Doc. inéd.*, iii. 499.

oidor Infante, to occupy the post made vacant by the death of Governor Lerma. The only noteworthy record of the three years of this interim administration is that of violence and plundering, of which the natives were the victims. The governor was not disposed to abate these evils, since he received a part of the price of the Indians sold, and a part of the proceeds of tribute and pillage.[1]

IV

More important than the foundation of Santa Marta was that of Cartagena, made by Pedro de Heredia. Heredia had already played a part in Santa Marta before the arrival of Governor Lerma. He had been the lieutenant of Vadillo, and had had much experience in dealing with the natives. He had acquired more knowledge of their character than the majority of his associates. He was brave, resolute, and endowed with the ability to make his orders obeyed by the adventurers who found in the exploration of America scope for their restless spirits. He had inherited property in Santo Domingo, and this gave him a position sufficiently prominent to cause Vadillo to make him his lieutenant. While in the service of Vadillo, he conceived the idea of providing for himself a career of greater independence. Therefore, shortly after the accession of García de Lerma to the governorship of Santa Marta, Heredia returned to Spain, and obtained a grant covering the then unoccupied coast region extending from

[1] Piedrahita, *Historia general del Nuevo Reino de Granada*, lib. iii. cap. 3. On the 19th of April 1531, Governor Lerma wrote to the king, informing him "que a los veinte e seis de dicho mes de Hebeero pasado, permitió Dios Nuestro Señor, por nuestros defectos, que a media noche se quemara toda esta Cibdad sin quedar cosa alguna en ella, ansi mantenymientos, como todo lo demas de questaba bien bastezida, mas que nunca lo estuvo, que a sido a todos mucho e muy general daño e pérdida: salvóse esta casa de Vuestra Magestad, que fize por su mandado, por ser de otros materiales que las otras, ques de piedra, barro e ladrillo." *Doc. inéd.*, xli. 331.

the mouth of the Magdalena River to the Gulf of Darien, or Urabá. This concession imposed essentially the same conditions as that under which Bastidas had founded Santa Marta.[1] From the spoils of his excursions among the natives, Heredia was able to employ a large sum to meet the expenses of his expedition. Instructed by his experience, he knew what articles would be useful, and was thus able to avoid the mistakes made by some of the previous explorers, who had burdened themselves with things that might have been suitable in Spain, but were ill-adapted to the circumstances of the New World.

At Seville Heredia enlisted a hundred and fifty men, constructed two ships, and provided also a small vessel for exploring inlets and rivers which the larger vessels could not enter. He sailed from Cadiz near the end of 1532. He touched at Porto Rico and Santo Domingo, where a number of other persons joined the expedition. Among these was Captain Francisco César, who had been one of Sebastian Cabot's companions on the voyage to the Rio de la Plata. Heredia arrived in the Bay of Cartagena in January 1533. He had appointed Francisco César to be his chief lieutenant, and on the 21st of January he established a municipality at the site of the present city of Cartagena. After the death of Ojeda and La Cosa, the poisoned arrows of the Indians inspired a well-grounded fear in the settlers, and they accepted San Sebastian as the patron saint of Cartagena, because, as it was affirmed, he had been killed by poisoned arrows, and would, therefore, be especially solicitous to ward off similar assaults by the Indians.[2]

The most peacefully-disposed governor could not always avoid conflicts with the natives; for, on account of the treatment which they had previously received at

[1] *Doc. inéd.*, xxii. 325.

[2] Benedetti, *Historia de Colombia*, 126; Groot, *Historia de Nueva Granada*, i. 14–16; Acosta, *Nueva Granada*, 109–113; Piedrahita, pp. 79–82.

the hands of the Spaniards, it was difficult to make any tribe attach great importance to Spanish professions of friendship. Hostility became, therefore, almost inevitable whenever a European settlement was made on or near territory occupied by Indians. Heredia wished to enter into such relations with the natives that he could trade with them, yet, in spite of his wishes, he found himself, in the beginning, involved in conflicts with several tribes. But in the course of time he drew to his side some of the tribes, by offering to assist them against their enemies, and by rendering them various services which indicated his friendly spirit. It was not difficult for him to see that to establish peaceful relations with his neighbours was in keeping with a wise commercial policy; for with the inexpensive wares which he had brought from Spain for distribution among them, he might expect to gain more gold than by hostile military operations. In his most successful expedition into the interior, Heredia pursued a policy of conciliation. He required his men to camp at some distance from the Indian towns, in order by this means to avoid all violence and disorder. From this expedition he returned to Cartagena with treasure amounting to more than a million and a half of golden ducats. Each common soldier received from this sum six thousand ducats after the royal fifths, the governor's portion, and the parts reserved for the hospital, the captains, and other purposes had been withdrawn. Among the spoils there was a figure of massive gold, weighing about one hundred and forty pounds, and representing a porcupine. It was found in a temple, and Acosta says, "they took it away instantly, saying they could not consent to such beastly idolatry." [1]

[1] *Nueva Granada*, 118.

V

The fame of the riches acquired by Heredia and his men soon made Cartagena the most frequented point of Tierra Firme; its excellent harbour attracted vessels bound from Spain to the Isthmus; and the abundance of gold distributed among the inhabitants introduced a certain luxury and movement not characteristic of any other settlement. Owing to the favourable attitude of the neighbouring Indians, and their willingness to furnish the products of their fields, there was no lack of food; and the vessels from Santo Domingo brought an abundance of the various kinds of supplies that were needed. The town grew rapidly in population, and the large amount of easily-acquired wealth gave it the appearance of great prosperity.

In the beginning of 1534, a new expedition was undertaken. It involved two hundred and fifty men, fifty of whom were mounted; and it was more thoroughly equipped than any of the expeditions that had preceded it. It was noteworthy for the rich spoils derived from the cemetery at Zenú, in which the natives of the district had been accustomed to bury their dead, together with certain articles of value. At this point in the progress of the expedition, Heredia departed from his policy of peace and conciliation, and ordered the cemetery and the neighbouring town to be pillaged. From the temple he took a number of bells of gold, the value of which amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and from the cemetery and other sources enormous sums which cannot be definitely and accurately stated in terms of a modern measure of value. The graves at Zenú continued to be exploited, as if they were mines, long after the return of this expedition to Cartagena; but when they were exhausted, and subsequent expeditions failed to reveal other extraordinary sources of wealth, the adventurous spirits of many of the inhabitants urged them to exploits in other fields. The

province of Darien, and the unexplored valleys of the Atrato and the Cauca appeared to be the most attractive fields within reach. In 1536, Governor Heredia undertook an expedition against the Dobaiba on the Atrato, but he was not more successful than those who had failed in a similar undertaking previously. The next year Francisco César penetrated the valley of the Cauca, which was then "the most densely populated and most thoroughly cultivated of the territory which to-day is embraced in the province of Antioquia."[1]

But during the period of these campaigns, dissatisfaction with the conduct of the governor had appeared in Cartagena, and the complaints which were made warranted the appointment of a visitador to examine the charges that had been brought against him, and to subject him to the trial known as the residencia. The person appointed by the court to conduct the trial having died on the voyage from Spain, the audiencia of Santo Domingo conferred the office upon Juan de Vadillo, a member of the audiencia, who was a brother of Pedro de Vadillo, formerly governor of Santa Marta. The evidence in the hands of the visitador seemed to incriminate both the governor and his brother, Alonso de Heredia, and both were arrested. The most serious charges were that they had defrauded the public treasury in the distribution of the gold taken from the graves at Zenú, and had maltreated and enslaved the Indians. This event closed the first period of Heredia's administration in 1537.[1]

[1] Piedrahita, 86.

[2] See letters of Juan de Vadillo to the king, dated at Cartagena, February 11, October 13, and October 15, 1537, *Doc. inéd.*, xli. 356–420.

CHAPTER IV

THE WELSER COMPANY IN VENEZUELA

I. The contract of 1528. II. Ambrosius Ehinger governor. III. Arrival of Federmann at Coro. IV. Governor Ehinger's second expedition and death. V. Conflict of factions at Coro. VI. Federmann and Hohermut von Speier. VII. Von Hutten's expedition. VIII. Carvajal.

I

MANY of the slave-traders who infested the northern coast of South America in the early decades belonged to a lawless class of persons, over whom no government exercised any effective control. The conduct of these persons became at length so scandalous that the audiencia of Santo Domingo was moved to intervene, and it decreed that the right to enslave the aborigines should be held only by the conquistadores, and not by the crowd of obscure pirates who devastated the country.[1]

The difference which the Spanish government sought to emphasize was the difference between unregulated and regulated plundering. In order to check the piratical incursions, Juan de Ampués was commissioned to visit that part of the coast which lay near the islands inhabited by the pirates, and which was, therefore, especially subject to their raids. He was not authorised to form settlements on the continent, but he became convinced that without a permanent establishment on the land he could do very little to diminish the activity of the slave-traders. He consequently entered into friendly relations with the

[1] Baralt y Diaz, *Historia de Venezuela*, i. 160.

powerful chief Manauré, who was willing to place himself in a position of feudal subjection to Ampués, and to recognise the sovereignty of the Spanish crown. In order to carry out his plan, Ampués obtained possessions in the country, and founded the city of Santa Ana de Coro in 1527. The peaceful course pursued by Ampués might have brought happiness and prosperity to the land, if it had been continued, but this was not in keeping with the warlike spirit of Spain's government under Charles V.[1]

The wars in which Charles V was engaged, and the ordinary undertakings of his government, involved him in expenses which exceeded his regular revenues, and to supply the deficit he had recourse to borrowing. Prominent among his creditors were the Augsburg merchants of the house of Welser. For some years this house had had establishments in Spain, and if a province was to be ceded to any company, the concession would very naturally be made to a company that had already extensive interests in Spain and Santo Domingo. Santo Domingo, at this time, was the point from which expeditions finally departed for the continent, and from which authority was exercised over establishments on the coast of Tierra Firme. In 1528 the Spanish crown made an agreement granting to Heinrich Ehinger and Hieronymus Sailer an exclusive right to explore and settle a region extending along the coast of Venezuela from Cape Maracapana on the east to Cape de la Vela and the border of the province of Santa Marta on the west. This grant did not differ from those that were made usually to the early conquis-

[1] Baralt y Diaz, *Historia de Venezuela*, i. 147, 161; Haebler, *Unternehmungen der Welser*, 137–9; Benedetti, *Historia de Colombia*, 122; Humbert, *Les origines vénézuéliennes*, 31–3; Herrera, *Dec.* IV, I, VI, c. i. Oviedo y Baños, lib. i. cap. iii.; Rojas, *Estudios históricos*, 93; Kloden, in *Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde* (Berlin, 1855), 437; Klunzinger, *Antheil der Deutschen an der Entdeckung von Südamerika* (Stuttgart, 1857), 7, 8; Haebler, in *Historisches Taschenbuch* von Raümer (Leipzig, 1890), 207.

tadores. The union of the Welser company and the house of Ehinger had given new force to the corporation, and was apparently one of the causes of its prosperity at the time the grant was made.[1]

The principal provisions of the grant were the following: The persons receiving the grant should found two towns within two years. Each of the towns should contain three hundred settlers. They should also establish three forts, but no limit was fixed for the term within which the forts must be established. The title of governor and captain-general for the lifetime of the persons receiving the concession, the hereditary titles of aguacil-mayor, adelantado, and teniente were at the disposal of the grantees, under the supreme authority of the crown. All articles needed for the sustenance of the settlers should be admitted free of duty; but this freedom did not extend to wares employed in trade. Horses and cattle might be imported from the West Indian Islands, or exported to these islands. The colonists should receive, without charge, lots for their houses and ground for cultivation, which should become their property after the latter had been cultivated by them for four years. For a period of eight years the colonists should be free from all taxes. For the first three years they should deliver to the crown only a tenth part of the precious metals, and thereafter an amount increased annually by such a sum that with the eighth year and afterwards the normal amount of one-fifth of the whole annual product should be surrendered. The grantees might also make slaves of such Indians as offered resistance to the Europeans. Dur-

[1] The statement made by Herrera and others who have repeated his opinion, that the grant was made by Charles V in consideration of the services of the Welser company in loaning money to the emperor has been called in question by Haebler, *Eine deutsche Kolonie in Venezuela*, 210, and the view of Haebler is accepted by Humbert, *L'occupation allemande du Venezuela au XVI siècle* (Paris, 1905), 5.

Capitulación que se tomó con Enrique Conquer y Guillermo Sayller, para la pacificación de la provincia de Santa Marta, *Doc. inéd.*, xxii. 251–61.

ing this year, 1528, a number of agreements were made between the Spanish crown and Ehinger and Sailer. In one it was stipulated that they should introduce fifty German miners into the colony; but in none of them did the crown incur any obligations, except that of guaranteeing to the other party to the contract the use of the territory in question. This party, moreover, had the privilege of introducing into the province of Venezuela four thousand negro slaves within a period of four years.[1]

II

When the men had been enlisted, and the Welser expedition made ready, the fleet of four vessels set sail from the harbour of San Lucar, on the 7th of October 1528. García de Lerma, the new governor of Santa Marta, was on board, and it had been agreed that if he needed assistance to restore order in his disturbed province, men from this expedition should be furnished for his service. Lerma was taking to Santo Domingo the emperor's confirmation of the appointment of Ambrosius Ehinger to be the governor of the province of Venezuela. Ambrosius Ehinger was at this time agent of the company in Santo Domingo,

[1] A more complete statement of the terms of the contract of 1528 is given in Humbert, *L'occupation allemande du Venezuela au XVI^e siècle*, 5–10; see also Haebler, *Die überseeischen Unternehmungen der Welser und ihrer Gesellschafter*, 52–89. In the documents relating to this contract, there is evidence of somewhat more than the usual carelessness with respect to the form of names. The name of one of the contracting parties appears as Eynguer, Ynguer, Einger, Inger, Ynger, Ehinger, and Alfinger. The form Alfinger, particularly as applied to Ambrosius, appears in English, but Haebler retains the more usual form of Ehinger. Humbert uses Alfinger when referring to Ambrosius and Ehinger when designating the other brothers. "Was urkundlich über die Familie feststeht, ist das folgende: Heinrich, Georg, und Ambrosius Ehinger, die anscheinend alle drei um 1528 in Beziehungen zu der Welserischen Gesellschaft standen, waren leibliche Brüder und stammten von Konstanz" (Haebler, *Die überseeischen Unternehmungen der Welser*, 41). See *Real Cédula*, August 7, 1535, *Doc. inéd.*, lxi. 344.

and when he became governor of Venezuela he was succeeded by Sebastian Rentz von Ulm. The number of emigrants going by this fleet was two hundred and eighty-one, and Governor Lerma, being the person of highest rank on board, was virtually in command of the fleet. When he arrived at Santo Domingo, Lerma determined to remain there longer than Ambrosius Ehinger wished to do; he was consequently allowed, in accordance with a previous agreement, to have one of the smaller vessels, fifty men, and a sixth part of the fleet's supplies. Ambrosius Ehinger, the newly-appointed governor, assumed the chief command of the three remaining vessels, and, sailing for the coast of Venezuela, landed near Coro, February 24, 1529.

The force that landed with Governor Ehinger consisted of about three hundred men. Although the enterprise was under the direction of the German company, the participants were not all Germans. Among them were Spaniards, Portuguese, and a number of negroes from New Guinea. Ehinger communicated to Ampués the royal order which required his removal to the islands of Oruba, Curaçao, and Buen Ayre, and placed the company in possession of Coro and the province. Ampués was surprised by the announcement of the proposed change, and was disposed to resist the execution of the order. He was not, however, in a position to offer effective resistance. Lest he should be placed in a position of disadvantage as a consequence of his hostility to Governor Ehinger, that officer was ordered, in new instructions dated February 19, 1530, not to interfere in any way with Ampués' administration of the islands left in his charge. Ampués, who had founded the town of Coro, and established peaceful relations with the Indians, was obliged to surrender his authority, and witness the introduction of a policy under which the Indians were regarded as a part of the spoils of conquest.[1]

[1] Humbert, *L'occupation allemande du Venezuela*, 14, 15; this writer affirms that Ehinger was accompanied by " sept cents hommes

The original purpose of the Welser company in Venezuela was the acquisition of wealth by trading, and this purpose was emphasized until the withdrawal of Heinrich and Georg Ehinger. At this time a new policy was adopted, under which extensive expeditions into the interior of the country were undertaken.

After the depressing experiences of the voyage, the invaders found themselves safely established at Coro, where they made an agreeable and convivial use of the abundant supply of provisions they had brought with them. In the meantime, stories of immense treasures which the natives had accumulated were circulated among them, and inspired them with an impatient zeal to secure the wealth which they fancied could be had without difficulty. It was, therefore, with great expectations that Governor Ehinger formed an expedition composed of a part of his men, and entered upon his first journey into the wilderness. He proceeded towards the south, along the shore of Lake Maracaibo, but he failed to find the expected treasure, and even the needed food was wanting. His men, disappointed and discouraged, were anxious to abandon the expedition, and the leader, having fallen ill, wished to return to Coro. Soon after his arrival at Coro, he sailed for Santo Domingo in search of more favourable conditions for the recovery of his health.[1]

et quatre-vingt cavaliers." Castellanos, *Elegías de varones ilustres de Indias*, part ii. eleg. i; Oviedo y Baños, *Conquista y población de Venezuela*, i. cap. 5; Schumacher, *Die Unternehmungen der Augsburger Welser*, 39; Topf, *Deutsche Statthalter und Konquistadoren in Venezuela*, 12; Haebler, *Ueberseeische Unternehmungen der Welser*, 143–146.

[1] Humbert, *L'occupation allemande du Venezuela*, 20; Simon, *Las conquistas de Tierra Firme*, i. 37–9.

III

While Governor Ehinger was absent on his first expedition, Nicolas Federmann arrived at Coro. He had left San Lucar, October 2, 1529. At Coro he caused the colonists to recognise him as interim governor, and persuaded a hundred men, nearly all of whom were Spaniards, to follow him towards the south in search of the undiscovered treasure. He had made haste to enter upon the journey, in order to be the first to reach the treasure, for it had been reported to him that both Lerma, of Santa Marta, and Sedeño, of Cubagua, were also preparing expeditions to the unexplored country. The notices of Federmann's itinerary are so confused that those persons who have attempted to trace it have reached very different conclusions. The events of the journey, in their general character, were not greatly unlike those of other exploring enterprises in this part of America. There were attacks on the Indians and attacks by the Indians; attempts to force caciques to reveal treasures which they did not possess; the flight of some of the natives to the mountains, and the stubborn resistance of others; scarcity of food, and disease produced by want and exposure; and the discovery of a sufficient number of valuable articles to keep alive the desire for further explorations. On March 17, 1531, Federmann and his followers returned to Coro.[1]

[1] A French translation of Federmann's narrative of his first expedition and return to Spain is found in Ternaux's *Voyages, relations et memoires originaux pour servir à l'histoire de la découverte de l'Amerique* (Paris, 1837). Reference may also be made to Klupfel, K., *Nik. Federmann und die Welserische Unternehmung* (in Bib. des. Lit. Vereins, xlvii. 199); Klunzinger, K., *Antheil der Deutschen an der Entdeckung von Süd-Amerika*, cap. 6, 24–62; Weinhold, M., *Federmann's Reise, Anhänge zu den Jahresberichten des Vereins für Erdkunde*, in Dresden, iii. (1865), 94–112; Schumacher, *Die Unternehmungen der Augsburger Welser in Venezuela*, cap. iv. 56–69; Topf, *Deutsche Statthalter und Konquistadoren in Venezuela*, 18–19; Pfister, A., *Ambrosius Dalfinger*

For several years members of the Ehinger family had been especially prominent in the management of the company's affairs. They had been efficient in the conduct of the commercial house established at Seville under a concession made by Charles V in 1525. This concession conveyed to them all the rights respecting trade in America that were enjoyed by Spanish subjects.[1] The enterprise was regarded at that time as little more than a venture of this family. The name of Welser does not appear in the contracts with the Spanish government, and Ambrosius Ehinger became the governor of the province. But in 1530 Heinrich and Georg Ehinger withdrew from the company, requesting, in a communication to the emperor, that the rights which had been given to them might be transferred to Anton and Bartholomaus Welser. Charles V reported this request to the Council of the Indies on November 20, 1530; and on February 15 of the following year, an ordinance was issued which conferred these rights upon Anton Welser and Bartholomaus Welser. This ordinance contained essentially the same provisions as the contract of 1528. With this change the undertaking fell more immediately under the control of the Welser family, and it was carried on in their name; but, in spite of the change, Ambrosius Ehinger continued to hold the office of governor.[2]

und Nikolaus Federmann, in der Allgemeinen Deutschen Biographien; Simon, *Las Conquistas de Tierra Firme*, i. iii.; Haebler, *Ueberseeische Unternehmungen der Welser*, 187–96, for an account of Federmann's later expedition and his meeting with Quesada, see pp. 246–77; *Carta de los Ofyciales Reales de Venezuela a Su Magestad*, July 30, 1530, *Doc. inéd.*, xli. 315–28.

[1] Herrera, *Dec.* (Antwerp, 1614), iii. 208; Haebler, *Unternehmungen der Welser*, 48; Schumacher, *Die Unternehmungen der Augsburger Welser in Venezuela*, in Hamburger Festschrift, Bd. II, 33.

[2] Humbert, *L'occupation allemande du Venezuela*, 12; Haebler *Unternehmungen der Welser*, 104.

IV

The crown issued the usual orders that the Indians should be treated as free men, and that they should not be given too much work; but at the same time provided that, in case they resisted the Europeans, they might be reduced to slavery. This permission was quite sufficient to nullify the former orders, since the Europeans were not disposed to be satisfied with less than the full advantage which their circumstances offered. Thus the altruistic injunctions of the crown brought little or no profit to the Indians. The Germans received their concession, not for the sake of any opportunity for missionary work which it might present, but for the acquisition of wealth by trading. They had apparently less regard for the natives than even the Spaniards; and a consideration of their treatment of the Indians will help to modify the view that cruelties equal to those practised by the Spaniards would not have appeared if any other nation had been put in the place of Spain.[1]

The abuses which appeared in the slave-trade carried on under the agreement of 1528, led the Spanish government to issue a decree on August 2, 1530, abolishing Indian slavery in Venezuela. But this action called forth a multitude of protests. Governor Ehinger petitioned the government to recall its prohibition, and urged in support of his petition that the Venezuelan undertaking had already cost eighty thousand ducats, and that the slave-trade was almost the only source of revenue that seemed to make it possible for the company to meet its

[1] Las Casas represents Ambrosius Ehinger and his German followers as ferocious beasts: "Leur unique objet, dit-il, était d'enlever l'or du pays, à quelque prix que ce fût; ils employèrent des moyens si odieux que les Espagnols parurent de gens de bien à côté de ces nouveaux spéculateurs; ils surpassèrent les tigres en férocité, et ne connurent ni Dieu, ni roi, ni sentiment d'humanité." Memorial addressed to Prince Philip, afterwards Philip II, in 1552, article XV.

expenses. At the same time he called attention to the fact that the agreement of 1528 expressly gave him the right to make slaves of the Indians. The king's reply, dated May 10, 1531, was that the old order might stand, but with the important limitation that slaves might not be sold to be taken out of the province. This limitation, however, met with no more favour than the original decree. The colonists, called together by Antonio Orejon, framed and signed a new petition, in which they demanded the right to export slaves. By permitting the company to enslave the Indians who offered resistance to the invaders, the government practically surrendered all ground on which opposition to the colonists might be made; it left to the colonists to determine when the Indians were offering resistance. The attempt to prevent the exportation of slaves was ineffectual, and it became evident that, whatever were the wishes of the Crown, the fate of Venezuela depended less on the royal will than on the interests of the company.

When Federmann reached Coro after his journey of exploration, Ambrosius Ehinger had returned from Santo Domingo, and resumed his duties as governor. Legal proceedings were instituted against Federmann on the charge that he had exceeded his rights and acted without authority. As a result of this trial he was obliged to return to Europe. The various expeditions into the interior had failed to produce the expected wealth, and, as a consequence, the colonists found themselves not only without funds, but also in debt to the Welser company. The company was more or less embarrassed by the fact that many of those to whom it had made advances had died, leaving nothing to liquidate the claims against them. Nevertheless, the colony was still disposed to depend on incursions into the territory of the natives. On the 9th of June 1531, Ambrosius Ehinger entered upon his second expedition, leaving Bartolomé de Santillana as his deputy at Coro. He halted at the settlement of Maracaibo, and

sought for facilities for transportation by river, but, failing in this, he left Maracaibo, September 1, 1531, with one hundred and thirty men on foot and forty men mounted. The region through which he passed after he left Maracaibo presented no difficulties. In the course of his march he came to the territory of the Pacabueyes. At a town called Pauxotto, he remained a number of days, during which, by various means, he obtained from the natives articles of gold valued at twenty thousand dollars. These, with some part of his previous accumulations, he determined to send back to Coro, to be delivered to the agent of the Welser company. This property was entrusted to Captain Iñigo de Vascuña, who was placed in command of twenty-four Europeans. He was ordered to proceed directly to Coro, by the southern end of Lake Maracaibo, instead of going back to the town of Maracaibo by the route over which the expedition had advanced. The difficulties of the route chosen were very great. Near the southern shore of the lake there were extensive swamps and rivers to be crossed. The company was too small and too poorly equipped to defend itself against attacks by the natives. There were no guides, no interpreters, no adequate supply of food, and no means of transportation. When it became evident, on account of exhaustion and disease, that the company would not be able to reach Coro, they buried the treasure, and agreed that each should be free to save himself in any way he might choose. They separated into little groups of two or three, and wandered about hopelessly in the forests. Only one survived to tell the tale of the disaster. Francisco Martin, after untold privations and dangers, was hospitably received by an Indian tribe, and became scarcely less a savage than his new associates.

In the land of the Pacabueyes, where Ambrosius Ehinger and his men spent several months, he gathered a quantity of gold, but, at the same time, he was sorely oppressed with anxiety concerning the fate of Vascuña.

He feared, moreover, that while he was pursuing elusive fortune in the wilderness, the establishments at Coro and Maracaibo might be wrecked by the assaults of natives or by the contests of internal factions. Finally, in a fight with the Indians in the valley of Chinacota, he was wounded in the neck by a poisoned arrow, and died a few days later.[1]

V

After the death of Ambrosius Ehinger, the history of the colony was a series of misfortunes, which proceeded chiefly from two groups of events. These were the internal confusion and contentions with respect to the government, and the expeditions by which the country was overrun and pillaged. Immigrants were added to the colony from time to time, but the majority of them were drawn into the exploring expeditions, while the lands remained uncultivated, and Coro as the capital continued to be merely an unprogressive and miserable village.

Ambrosius Ehinger had maintained that the spoils of the journey should be turned over to the Welser company in Coro, and that it should be there determined what amounts should be assigned to the different persons. Pedro de San Martin, the royal factor, held that an account of the treasure accumulated should be made, and that it should be distributed among the members of the expedition without delay. This opinion was naturally popular, and San Martin was immediately elected to the leadership made vacant by the death of Ehinger. The royal fifth was then withdrawn, and when the division of the balance had been made, it was decided that each person should be paid one-half of his allotment, and that the rest should be given to the Welser company to cover its claims against the individual persons concerned. After this

[1] Haebler, *Ueberseeische Unternehmungen der Welser*, 196–210; Humbert, *L'occupation allemande du Venezuela*, 27–36; Simon, *Las conquistas de Tierra Firme*, 39–48.

transaction, the members of the expedition took up the march for Coro. On this journey they discovered Francisco Martin among the Indians of one of the tribes which they encountered. He was the sole survivor of the company that had been sent to Coro under Vascuña. At Maracaibo they halted for a period of recuperation, and then, under the command of Pedro de San Martin, they returned to Coro, where they arrived November 2, 1533.[1]

The fears which Ambrosius Ehinger had entertained respecting the relation of the several factions to one another at Coro proved to be well founded. The royal officials were opposed to the officials of the Welser company; Santillana, as interim governor, was in conflict with Rodrigo Vasquez de Acuña, the treasurer; and the friendly relations which Ampués had formed with the Indians under Manauré were broken off. The inhabitants of Coro had received articles of food from the Indians who cultivated the lands near the settlement; but, after the breach with Manauré, that chief withdrew with his tribesmen to the interior of the country. This compelled the Europeans to seek food elsewhere, and placed them under severe embarrassment, not merely for lack of provisions, but also for lack of labourers. This inconvenience of the colonists was also further increased by an uprising of the Indians, which induced Santillana to order that no one should venture more than a few rods beyond the limits of the town. A new element was added to the confusion, when the royal officials sought to draw the audiencia of Santo Domingo into the controversy, by sending to that body an extensive document containing charges against Santillana. At this point the survivors of Ehinger's expedition arrived. They became involved in the contest

[1] Haebler, *Ueberseeische Unternehmungen der Welser*, 210, 211; Castellanos, *Elegías*, 202; Simon, *Las conquistas de Tierra Firme*, i. 43, 44; Oviedo y Baños, *Historia de la conquista y población de Venezuela*, i. cap. vii.; Humbert, *L'occupation allemande du Venezuela*, 36; Piedrahita, *Historia general de la conquista del nuevo reyno de Granada*, 88.

in opposition to Santillana, who was imprisoned, and the headship of the colony was conferred temporarily upon Pedro de San Martin. When the news of Ehinger's death reached Santo Domingo, the audiencia formally deposed Santillana, and, on May 4, 1534, appointed Bishop Rodrigo de Bastidas to be the provisional governor of the province.[1]

Bishop Bastidas had been appointed to the office of Protector of the Indians by the crown with the view to defend them against the greed of unscrupulous settlers. The functions of this officer extended only to such Indians as had been made subject to Europeans, either as house slaves or as vassals under the system of repartimientos. But the plan was not successful. The material interests of the colonists were ranged against the decrees of the king and the orders of the protector. In this case, and in many other cases, royal decrees or orders that contravened the interests of the dominant persons or class in the colonies were not carried out.

VI

The members of the Welser company regarded the action of the audiencia as an unwarranted interference with their rights; and they finally concluded to ignore this action and to proceed to elect a governor on whom they could rely. The choice fell at first on Nikolaus Federmann, and the election was ratified in Spain, July 19, 1533. Having been confirmed in this office,

[1] Haebler, *Ueberseeische Unternehmungen der Welser*, 212–17. Bishop Bastidas was a son of Rodrigo de Bastidas, one of the early explorers of Tierra Firme, who sailed from Spain in 1500, and who became the first governor of Santa Marta. He was created Bishop of Coro by Clement VII, July 1, 1532. At the time of his appointment he was dean of the cathedral of Santo Domingo. For an examination of the career of Bishop Bastidas, see A. Rojas, *Estudios históricos*, i. 104–22: "Armados de la critica más severa podemos juzgar al Obispo Bastidas como un espiritu creador, recto y caritativo, á pesar de haber sido victima durante su permanencia en Venezuela, de la epidemia de *El Dorado*," p. 122.

Federmann left the court, which was then at Valladolid, to return to Seville. He was, however, soon overtaken and recalled by a courier from the Council of the Indies. The Council had acted without full information, and, when it had learned more about Federmann, and received the protests of the colonists presented through their delegates, it annulled the confirmation of the election. By a new election, the company presented the name of Georg Hohermut von Speier, its commercial agent in Seville, whom the Spaniards call Jorge de Spira. He had not been in America, and was not antagonised by any of the factions in the province. There was, therefore, no effective opposition to his confirmation, which was had January 28, 1535. To allay the disappointment of Federmann, the office of captain-general was separated from that of governor, and conferred upon him. In the meantime the emigration agents had brought together six hundred persons to be added to the population of Venezuela. By the middle of October 1534, the little fleet of three vessels, which was designed to take them and the new governor to America, was ready to put to sea. The first attempt to depart was defeated by a storm, which drove them back to port, and it was not until February 7, 1535, that Von Speier reached Coro.

On landing in Venezuela, the governor had to consider what policy should be pursued; whether the decree of the king, requiring the distribution and colonisation of the lands already explored should be carried out, or new expeditions of discovery should be undertaken. In the determination of this question, not merely the wish of the governor, but also the inclination of the settlers, had to be consulted. It was found, however, that all were of one mind. The spirit of adventure in all parties demanded new expeditions into unexplored regions. The possibility of obtaining rich spoils was more attractive than the certainty of an assured but meagre existence supported by cultivation. It was, therefore, agreed

that the policy of the preceding governor should be continued. This state of mind, and the fact that the Indians had withdrawn from the district of Coro, made the proposed distribution of land of no importance whatsoever. The Spaniards would not cultivate it, and the Indians had found it for their interest to retire from the neighbourhood of the Europeans. The few expeditions of explorers in America that had brought wealth to the participants exerted a more powerful influence on the minds of the colonists than the many that had brought disaster and poverty. Thus, with four hundred men, the new governor took up his march into the interior, and for four years he scoured the wilderness for gold and slaves.

Federmann held an anomalous position at Coro after Hohermut von Speier had entered upon his expedition into the interior. He had been awarded the title of captain-general, but it was not clear what the functions and duties of this office were, when it was separated from that of viceroy, governor, and president. He remained for some time inactive at Coro, expecting to receive information that he had been appointed governor of the province. Such an appointment was made on November 5, 1535. It was similar to that of July 19, 1534, which was revoked. But as late as February 17, 1536, the certificate of this appointment had not reached him. He made an expedition along the coast to the boundary of the neighbouring province, where Governor Lerma had pursued a liberal policy with respect to the explorers from Venezuela. Even expeditions of discovery, in the time of Governor Ambrosius Ehinger, did not provoke him to hostility, or call forth a protest. But this state of things underwent a change after the arrival of Governor Lugo, who not only protested against the incursions of his neighbour, but made them the subject of judicial proceedings. Having returned to Coro, Federmann prepared for a new expedition, which became especially noteworthy for his merciless treatment of the natives, and for his final advance to the plateau of

Bogotá, and his meeting with Gonzalo Jimenez de Quesada and Sebastian de Benalcázar.[1]

While Federmann and Hohermut von Speier were absent from Coro, the audiencia of Santo Domingo appointed Dr. Antonio Navarro, July 6, 1537, as royal commissioner and judge to subject the conduct of the Welser company to a judicial investigation. The members of the audiencia were moved to this action by the numerous complaints which had reached them concerning the abuses of the Welser administration. The investigation proposed was the residencia, to which ordinarily the conduct of individual officials was subjected at the expiration of their term of service. The salary of the judge was to be paid out of the funds of the province, and, during the continuance of the inquiry, the power of the public officials was suspended and provisionally conferred upon the judge. The circumstances of the province at the time chosen for the process were not favourable for a thorough examination of the grounds of the complaints. The majority of the inhabitants were with Federmann and Hohermut von Speier in the interior of the country. At Coro there were not more than sixty persons, and these had not gone with the rest, because, on account of sickness or some other infirmity, they had not sufficient force for the undertaking. Prior to the appointment of Navarro they had been temporarily under the rule of Francisco de Venegas; but a short time before his death, which must have occurred earlier than July 6, 1537, he transferred his authority to Pedro de Cuebas. This miserable remnant of the colony could not and would not give the evidence required. Navarro, therefore, found it necessary to postpone the case indefinitely, a result which was probably not dis-

[1] Haebler, *Ueberseeische Unternehmungen der Welser*, 246–60; Oviedo y Baños, *Conquista y población de Venezuela*, i. cap. vii–xiii.; Klöden, *Die Welser als Besitzer von Venezuela*, 442; Klunzinger, *Antheil der Deutschen*, 84–91; Schumacher, *Die Unternehmungen der Welser*, 113–26; Topf, *Deutsche Statthalter*, 42–6; Herrera, *Dec.* VI, cap. xx.; Klupfel, *Nikolaus Federmann*, in Bib. Lit. Vereins, xlvii. 199.

agreeable, inasmuch as, while exercising the chief power in the province, he demanded the salary of the governor in addition to that which he was already receiving as judge.

The sending of Navarro was regarded by the Welser company as another unwarranted intervention on the part of the audiencia of Santo Domingo, and on a direct appeal by the members of this company to the central authority, the unfortunate episode of Navarro's rule was brought to an end in 1538. Navarro was finally arrested, and embarked for Santo Domingo, and died on the voyage.[1]

The next year, 1539, the governor, Hohermut von Speier, returned to Coro from his principal excursion into the wilderness. Of the four hundred men with whom he set out, only one hundred and sixty remained alive. One might well suppose that the men who had returned gaunt and exhausted from four years' wandering in a savage and trackless country would regard themselves as fortunate in having escaped the sad fate of the majority of their original company, and that for the future they would be disposed to avoid similar expeditions, where the chances of perishing outnumbered those of surviving. But the spirit of these men is not presented by such a supposition. After a short period of recuperation, they awaited with impatience the organisation of a new expedition. When, therefore, Hohermut von Speier determined to make one more journey of exploration, he found his men were ready to follow him. He went to Santo Domingo to expedite work on his equipment, and was again in Coro in the spring of 1540. His preparations were so far advanced that he felt justified in sending forward a division of one hundred men under the command of Lope de Montalvo. But he was destined not to follow. He died on June 11, 1540.

No provision had been made for a successor, except his appointment of Pedro de Villegas to hold the position until

[1] Haebler, *Ueberseeische Unternehmungen der Welser*, 222–46, 278–297; Simon, *Las conquistas de Tierra Firme*, i. 93–114, 165–73.

the arrival of a new governor. This disposition of affairs met with opposition, and in the autumn the audiencia approved the accession of Bishop Bastidas, since he had already been designated by the Welser company to succeed Hohermut von Speier.

Bishop Bastidas, who under Navarro had exercised a beneficent influence as a mediator between the hostile parties of Coro, had too much of the blood of the conquistador to be satisfied with the mission of a peacemaker. He had been in the country a number of years, and had been made protector of the Indians, but there is no evidence that he furnished them any protection, or that he protested against the abominable practices of the Welsers. He had not only been silent, but, having succeeded to the place of chief authority, he even followed the example of his predecessors. He sent an expedition against the Indians of Maracaibo, which returned with a small amount of gold and five hundred Indian slaves. Another expedition sought El Dorado, but the gilded prince was not found, and a few more outrages were added to those which marked the rule of this company. Almost the only effort in behalf of civilisation during the eighteen years of the Welsers' domination was the founding of the city of Tocuyo, in 1545, by Governor Carvajal. Its first population was fifty-nine Spaniards; its government was placed in the hands of two alcaldes and four regidores. This was the only municipal establishment made in Venezuela during the domination of the Welser company, and the impulse under which it was formed proceeded from the Spanish authorities, and the persons who actually made the settlement were Spaniards, and not Germans.

VII

After Hohermut's death the company which he had sent out under Montalvo determined to continue the advance, and to follow the course of Federmann's march.

They reached the plateau of Bogotá, and thus, establishing themselves there, withdrew a hundred men from the Welser province. The population of the province of Venezuela was, however, increased by new arrivals from Europe, among whom was Bartholomäus Welser, who proceeded to organise an expedition, which was placed under the leadership of Philip von Hutten. Under Von Hutten there were two captains: Bartholomäus Welser, appointed on account of his family's position, and Pedro de Limpias, on account of his experience in connection with previous expeditions and his known ability as a leader under the conditions they were destined to encounter.

The expedition appears to have been organised in such a manner as to make it as independent of Indian carriers as possible. The execution of this design was facilitated by the unusual number of horses that were available. On setting out from Coro, August 1, 1541, the company consisted of about one hundred and fifty men, nearly all of whom were mounted. After the departure of Von Hutten the bishop-governor found little to engage his attention in Coro, which, with the loss of Montalvo's men and the members of Von Hutten's expedition, was reduced to a dull village of the frontier. His prospect of promotion naturally lessened the attractiveness of his office at Coro. He returned to Santo Domingo, and, while there, in January 1542, he was informed of his appointment to the bishopric of San Juan, in Porto Rico. This transfer closed his connection with the Welser administration of Venezuela, in which, for ten years, he had played a more or less important rôle.

Von Hutten, like all of the leaders of the expeditions in Tierra Firme, was moved by the expectation of finding, among the natives, stores of the precious metals, which would enrich all the members of the company. As he proceeded westward along the coast, and then southward to the region of the Guaviare and the land of the Omaguas, he received from many sources stories of an immensely

wealthy people living in the heart of the continent. These were the familiar stories of El Dorado, which inflamed the minds of explorers for many decades. Not only were many persons convinced of the truth of these stories, but some, dominated by a peculiar infatuation, affirmed that they had seen the wonderful city, which could be no other than the residence of the gilded prince; but every expedition had been obliged to halt and turn back before reaching it. Von Hutten's expedition was no exception to the rule; but when he went northward after his conflict with the Omaguas, it was not with the intention of relinquishing his purpose to capture the famous prince and take possession of his capital. He found it necessary to return in order to recruit his depleted force and seek additional supplies.[1]

VIII

Von Hutten expected, moreover, on reaching Coro, to enter upon the exercise of his functions as captain-general, and thus to be placed in a position where he would be able to undertake further discoveries with greater resources than it had been possible for him to command hitherto. But in the meantime, after the nominal headship of the colony had passed from Bastidas to Diego de Buiza, and from Buiza to Rembold, it was assumed by Juan de Carvajal, under whom the affairs of the colony drifted into hopeless confusion. Coro suffered now an aggravation of its many phases of adverse fortune. No one appeared to have much interest in it, except as a starting-point of exploring expeditions. Wealth that might have furthered

[1] Oviedo y Valdez, *Historia general*, ii. 323; Castellanos, *Elegías*, 228; Haebler, *Ueberseeische Unternehmungen der Welser*, 304–11; in four numbers of the *Bulletin of the Pan-American Union*, January to April 1912, J. A Manso has presented under the title, *The Quest of El Dorado*, a general account of the expeditions undertaken to reach the mythical dominions of the gilded prince.

its material prosperity was expended in equipping and maintaining companies of adventurers. The Indians of the surrounding country, if they had remained cultivating the land, might have added greatly to the food supplies, but they had found it advisable to withdraw beyond the town's economic horizon. But quite as fruitful of misfortune as any of these facts was the partisan hostility which one part of the inhabitants entertained for the rest. An expression of this was seen in Carvajal's enmity as manifested towards Von Hutten and Bartholomäus Welser. Intercepting Von Hutten and his men, who were returning to Coro, he caused Von Hutten and Welser and a number of others to be murdered.[1]

Although Coro had existed for eighteen years, it was still hardly considered as permanently established. A part of the inhabitants wished to abandon the site, and seek a place where the conditions were more favourable for building a city; and practically the whole population recognised the fact that the German occupation had done little or nothing to advance the colony towards civilisation. On the other hand, it had caused such a depopulation of the province that a great outcry was raised against the Welser administration. The country was reduced to the state of a desert, and Coro was converted into a slave-market. The Spaniards were divided into factions, and the hatred and hostility which they displayed towards the German company caused great public disorder.

The grant which had been made to the company was rescinded, and the rule of the Germans was ended in 1546. The province of Venezuela then reverted to the crown, and Juan Pérez de Tolosa was sent from Spain as governor and captain-general. The effect of this change was to diminish plundering expeditions, and to increase the security of property. Under the new order of things, the

[1] Haebler, *Ueberseeische Unternehmungen der Welser*, 311–38; Oviedo y Baños, ii. 228, 324, 157–60, 242, 170, 182; Herrera, *Dec.* VII, 236; Castellanos, *Elegias*, 235, 237.

Indians, instead of being captured and sold as slaves, were distributed among the Spanish settlers under the law of encomiendas; and the organisation of the colony was made to assume the form that had been established in the other colonies under Spanish rule.

Tolosa was appointed governor of Venezuela on September 12, 1545, but it was nearly nine months later, in the beginning of June 1546, when he arrived in Coro. His first task was to relieve the colony of the presence of Carvajal, who now appeared in the double rôle of murderer and rebel. The execution of Carvajal ended all the resistance; Carvajal's men hastened to acknowledge Tolosa as the legitimate representative of the crown. The appointment of Tolosa was not the end of the Welser episode in the history of Venezuela. This was followed by a series of charges and counter-charges, and by a line of judicial processes, which were continued for ten years, until a decision was rendered by the Council of the Indies in 1556. By this decision all claims of the Welser company to the province of Venezuela were finally set aside.[1]

[1] An account of these legal controversies is given by Haebler, *Ueberseeische Unternehmungen der Welser*, 338–97. On the state of Coro in the middle of the sixteenth century, Altolaguirre, in *Relaciones geograficas de la gobernación de Venezuela*, xvi., quotes Bishop Miguel Jeronimo Ballesteros, who wrote in October 1550: "On the 3rd of April 1549 I arrived in this province . . . the city of Coro, which is on the coast, is inhabited by about forty persons, very poor and some of them ill. In the town of Coro there is a church of straw."

CHAPTER V

PROGRESS OF VENEZUELA AFTER THE WELSER EPISODE

I. The founding of cities. II. Miguel, the negro king. III. Fajardo's projects and campaigns. IV. Caracas made the capital. V. Rojas' misgovernment. VI. Excesses of Leguisamón as judge. VII. Evidence of Venezuela's progress.

I

THE introduction of the Spanish system by Governor Pérez de Tolosa and his successor, Juan de Villegas, particularly that feature of it which assigned the Indians for service to the Europeans, was necessarily attended with an increase in the number of permanent settlements. As long as it was the policy of the Europeans in Venezuela to capture the Indians and sell them to be taken to other provinces or to the adjacent islands, the principal business of the colony was hunting Indians for the slave-market. But when lands were assigned to the Spaniards, Indians were needed to cultivate them, and this led to the establishment of the Europeans and their dependents in permanent groups. The transfer of the colony to the crown was thus followed by a new condition of affairs. Juan de Villegas resisted the temptation to fit out expeditions for exploration and slave-hunting; and he determined to encourage the inhabitants to adopt the ways of civilised life. To this end he urged them to establish themselves permanently, either as encomendores in the country or as supporters of the industries and trade of the cities. In 1549 he founded the town of Concepcion

de Barburata, which, owing to its favourable position, made rapid progress in the beginning; but its prosperity invited attacks by the buccaneers, and, in 1568, it was abandoned. Villegas founded another city in 1552, which he called Nueva Segovia, but which was later known as Barquisimeto.[1]

II

The inhabitants of this latter town acquired a very considerable profit from the mines of San Filipe de Buria. The labourers in the mines were negro slaves and a large number of Indians from the encomiendas, who were under the direction of Spanish miners. One of the negroes, named Miguel, anticipating punishment, escaped and took refuge in the mountains. He had acquired a knowledge of the Spanish language, and was noted for his fluency of speech. He appealed to his fellows, and sought to persuade them to follow him and enjoy their liberty. In the course of time, after several attacks on the mining community, he gathered a hundred and eighty negroes and Indians about him, and was able to exercise dictatorial power over them by means of his rude eloquence, his ostentation, and arrogance, and the belief of his followers that he was invincible. In his mountain retreat he constructed fortifications about the place he had designated as the capital of his kingdom. A negress who had been his mistress became the queen, and a little son she had borne him was made to take an oath as the heir to the crown. He established the episcopal office, and appointed a negro to be the bishop; at the same time he surrounded himself with such other dignitaries as he thought might strengthen and adorn his monarchy. When the kingdom

[1] Simon, *Las Conquistas de Tierra Firme*, i. 218–34; Barros Arana, *Historia de America*, i. 277; Humbert, *Les origines vénézuéliennes*, 33–6; Oviedo y Baños, *Conq. y pobl. de Venezuela*, lib. iii. cap. 8; Baralt y Diaz, *Hist. de Venezuela*, i. cap. 9.

was in order, he entered upon what he fancied might be an extensive career of conquest. He made an attack on the town of Barquisimeto, which he intended should be a surprise, but he found himself face to face with the inhabitants, assisted by reinforcements from Tocuyo. The odds were against him, but he fought bravely until he was killed. After his death his disheartened followers surrendered. Some of them were executed, and the rest, remanded to slavery, were subjected to a régime more severe than that from which they had attempted to escape.

III

Villacinda, succeeding Villegas, was governor of Venezuela from 1554 to 1556. In the middle of his brief career as governor he founded the city of Valencia; and in 1556 Trujillo was founded by Paredes, who was acting governor prior to the arrival of Pablo Collado in 1559. Of the cities established in this period, Caracas proved to be the most important. The valley in which it was built was occupied, according to Spanish estimates, by one hundred and fifty thousand Indians, and was not visited by an expedition of the invaders until after many other parts of the country had been explored. The number of the natives, and their determination to maintain their independence, doubtless helped to make incursions into this region unattractive. A conquest was, however, finally undertaken by Francisco Fajardo, a mestizo who was born in the island of Margarita. His father was a Spanish nobleman, and his mother was a daughter of one of the Indian chiefs. He relied to a certain extent for success in his undertaking on his origin, and the fact that he could speak the language of the Indians. His first reception among the natives of his proposed conquest was friendly; but he was driven out when they learned that he intended to make a permanent settlement in their

territory. The failure of his original plan led him to resort to the use of force. His campaigns were in a measure successful, and, as a result of his efforts to possess the land, several towns were established in the conquered region, one of which was San Francisco, on the site of the present city of Caracas. The foundations of this city were finally laid by Losada in 1567; but for a decade after this event the Spaniards were in a state of almost constant hostility with the natives, and sometimes their ability to maintain themselves appeared doubtful; they even formed a plan to abandon this part of the country.[1]

IV

After the misfortunes that had attended the Spaniards' attempts to form settlements in the territory of the Cumanagótos, the Indians of this region remained for several years free from invasion by Europeans. In 1576 Juan de Pimental arrived in Venezuela as the governor and captain-general of the province. He determined to reside at Caracas, and hereafter this town was regarded as the capital of Venezuela, a status previously enjoyed by Coro. His first important undertaking was to subdue the Cumanagótos, who had resisted earlier attempts to occupy their territory, and who now prevented commercial communication between Caracas and the island of Margarita. This task was confided to Captain García Gonzalez de Silva, who set out from Caracas with one hundred and thirty men, April 6, 1579. After a desperate struggle, in which his small force fought against a body of Indians estimated to be three thousand in number, he seemed to have gained a victory, for the enemy fled to the mountains. He then established the town, or presidio, of Espiritu Santo. But in pursuing and overtaking

[1] Simon, *Las Conquistas de Tierra Firme*, i. 232–37; Baralt y Diaz, *Historia de Venezuela*, i. 190–204; Barros Arana, *Historia de America*, i. 279.

the Indians, he found them allied with the neighbouring tribes of Corés, Cháimas, and Chacopátas. Against the combined forces of this union, amounting to ten thousand men, a decisive victory appeared impossible. Therefore, in a council of war, it was decided to withdraw from the campaign, and to recall the settlers from the presidio of Espiritu Santo.[1]

V

The failure of Gonzalez de Silva to subjugate the Indians left them bolder and more confident of their independence than before; and when Luis de Rojas, the successor of Pimental, was governor, he established, in 1584, the town of San Juan de la Paz, on the river Tuy, four leagues below its junction with the Guaire. This town flourished for a time, drawing support from the mines of Apa and Carapa, but it was later abandoned on account of its unhealthy and disagreeable climate. Sebastian Diaz de Alfaro in the same year, 1584, founded another city, which was called San Sebastian de los Reyes, and which has been maintained until the present time. Rojas, like many others who held authority in this region, sacrificed the prospects of the settlements and the cultivation necessary to permanent prosperity in pursuit of fruitless conquests. The campaign undertaken by Christobal de Cobos, in 1585, under Rojas' order, was less urgent than devotion to the arts of peace for the promotion of the economical interests of the colony. It was directed against the Cumanagótos, who were more disposed to be independent than aggressive. Cobos took with him one hundred and seventy Spaniards and three hundred Indian auxiliaries. With the aid of his friendly Indians, he constructed the fort, or presidio, of Apaicuáre, which was fortified, or surrounded for defence with a stockade of heavy logs;

[1] Caulin, *Historia de la Nueva Andalucía*, 159–67; Baralt y Diaz, *Historia de Venezuela*, i. 237.

but this proved to be of little advantage, for the enemy laid siege to the place, and sought to reduce it by cutting off the sources of supply. Cobos' undertaking was attended by a series of misfortunes, and finally he abandoned his plans of conquest and withdrew from the field. He returned to Caracas, and died there a few days after his arrival. Certain later advances into the territory of the Indians were rather slave-hunting excursions than military campaigns, and indicated a return to the practices of the earlier invaders of Venezuela. The various military expeditions that were sent against the natives were like one another with respect to their organisation and progress; and the narrative of one contains the essential features of the story of all. In the actual conflicts there were usually a few Europeans opposed to a large number of Indians; there was always suffering from exposure and hunger; and the European soldiers who withstood the hardships of the campaigns and returned were often only wrecks of what they had been.[1]

The hostilities in the later phases of this conflict were marked by features which displayed Indian heroism and Christian barbarity. For a single instance, one may take the fate of Tamanaco, the cacique of the Mareches. He had fought a good fight against the Spaniards; he had killed a number of them with his war-club in the battle of Guaire; but, at last, abandoned by his warriors, he had been made a prisoner, and, in 1573, was condemned to death. Then, moved by their desire for a brutal exhibition, the Spaniards offered to grant Tamanaco his life in case he should come off victorious in a fight with one of their fierce dogs. Tamanaco naturally accepted the proposition, as his only alternative was death, and his great strength seemed to give him at least a chance of surviving. They enclosed a small space with a fence, placed Tamanaco in the centre, and, at a given signal, let loose the hideous dog. The cacique struck at him with his club, but failed

[1] Caulin, *Historia de la Nueva Andalucia*, 167–75.

to hit him, and the infuriated beast, without giving his opponent time to raise his club for a second blow, rushed upon him, threw him to the ground, seized him by the throat, and in a few minutes despatched him, horribly mangled.[1]

The towns of this region, in the period under consideration, had become accustomed to the government of regidores, who were elected annually, and who had the right to elect the alcaldes. Practically the only political rights exercised by the Spanish colonists in America were those enjoyed in connection with the municipalities, and their zeal in maintaining these rights was at once a reminiscence of the municipal liberty of Spain, and an anticipation of the spirit that was to make all American states independent. The attitude assumed by the town of Caraballeda was a positive expression of the views of the other cities of the province. In 1586 Governor Rojas, violating the prerogatives of Caraballeda, appointed the alcaldes for the following year. This act aroused the opposition of the regidores, who at first protested, and, when their verbal protest was not effective, threw out the alcaldes appointed by the governor, and elected others in accordance with their custom. The election did not, however, close the incident; for the governor caused the four regidores to be arrested and imprisoned at Caracas. The inhabitants of the town resented this interference, but did not wish to proceed to the use of force. They, therefore, abandoned Caraballeda, and took up their residences in other cities. This they were able to do without great loss, for the houses of the abandoned town, like most of the houses in Venezuela at the time, were merely huts or thatched roofs, furnishing protection from the rain, since the climate of the country called for no protection from the cold.[2]

The intervention of Rojas in the municipal government

[1] Rojas, A., *Estudios históricos*, 38–44.

[2] Baralt y Diaz, *Historia de Venezuela*, i. 251; Benedetti, *Hist. de Colombia*, 189.

of Caraballeda had for him, after it became known in Spain, very important consequences. He was removed from office in 1587, and when the trial of residencia was instituted, there was no lack of persons to bring charges against him; and, as a result of this trial, he was imprisoned and deprived of his property, and the regidores were released. The former inhabitants of the abandoned town had no desire to return to it; but the new governor, Diego Osorio, recognising the need of a port near the capital, persuaded some of them to join in the foundation of La Guaira.[1]

VI

The barbarous treatment which the Indians had received under the administration of Rojas induced the audiencia of Santo Domingo to send to Caracas Diego de Leguisamón as a magistrate authorised to investigate and bring to trial such cases as needed judicial correction. This officer, receiving part of the fines and other products of his own judgments, carried his inquiries and prosecutions to such an unreasonable extreme that practically the whole population found itself involved in his condemnations. The turbulence excited by these prosecutions caused the cabildo to fear the destruction of the town's well-being, and to send to the audiencia its protest against the excesses of the judge. As a consequence of this action of the cabildo, the audiencia ordered that the judge should be superseded and made to disgorge his spoils.[2]

To allay the internal commotion caused by the conduct of Leguisamón was the first task that required the attention of Governor Osorio. He had to harmonise conflicting private interests, and to re-establish the authority and prestige of the government. With the increase of the

[1] Baralt y Diaz, *Historia de Venezuela*, i. 251. [2] *Ibid.*, 252.

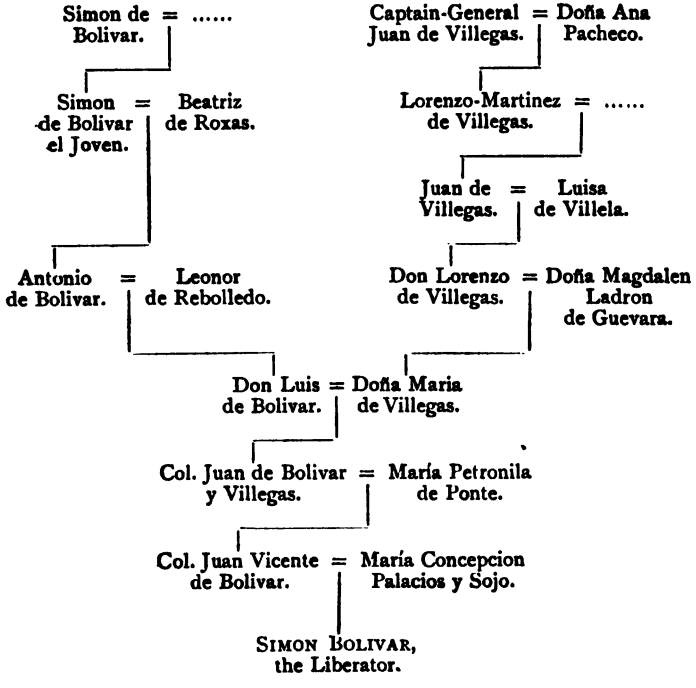
population the relation of the Spaniards to the Indians had not improved. The laws designed to protect them were not executed; and little or no heed was paid to the decrees and royal orders which imposed upon the Spaniards the obligation to give them religious instruction. In order that Osorio might be clothed with more extensive power, Simon Bolívar was commissioned, in 1589, to go to Spain and obtain from the king the required enlargement of the governor's authority. After Bolívar's return in 1592, the governor undertook the proposed reforms. He distributed lands in accordance with the regulations providing for the system of encomiendas; determined the municipal lands and revenues; founded the archives; formed municipal ordinances; and undertook to carry out the requirement that the Indians should live in towns. There was a certain unoccupied territory south-west of Tocuyo and Barquisimeto, towards the frontier of Granada, and, in order that this might be held by Venezuela, Governor Osorio commissioned Juan Fernandez de Leon to enter that region and found a city, or presidio, at some suitable site on the eastern slope of the cordillera. Under this commission the town of Guanare was founded in 1593. A part of Osorio's proposed reform was to make membership in the cabildos purchasable and perpetual, thus participating in a movement that attained this end more or less completely in different parts of Spanish America.

To the last decade of the sixteenth century belong the beginnings of public instruction at Caracas. On the suggestion of Bolívar, the king sent to Juan Martinez Manzanillo, the Bishop of Caracas, a decree, dated June 22, 1592, in which he ordered the establishment of a school, which became the *Seminario Tridentino*. He required, moreover, that in considering candidates for stipends, or for membership in the college, "care should be taken to prefer to all others the descendants of the first conquerors and the sons of those who had served the crown

of Spain with the greatest devotion." This was a modest beginning, but, in a rude village such as Caracas was then, there was probably no demand for instruction that could not be met by this primitive institution.[1]

But the peaceful growth of Caracas was temporarily interrupted in 1595, while Governor Osorio was at Maracaibo, by an assault of English pirates, May 29, 1595. In advancing from the coast they evaded the troops that had been sent out against them, and were thus able to take and sack the city without resistance. They occupied the town for six days, but they were not able to obtain a

[1] Humbert, *Les origines vénézuéliennes*, 63; Bolivar, who bore the title of *Contador de la Real Hacienda de Venezuela*, and also that of *Regidor*, was the first of the Liberator's ancestors to appear in America. The line of descent appears in the following table:


Simon de Bolivar = ...
Captain-General Juan de Villegas = Doña Ana Pacheco.
Simon de Bolivar el Joven = Beatriz de Roxas.
Lorenzo-Martinez de Villegas = ...
Juan de Villegas = Luisa de Villela.
Antonio de Bolivar = Leonor de Rebolledo.
Don Lorenzo de Villegas = Doña Magdalen Ladron de Guevara.
Don Luis de Bolivar = Doña Maria de Villegas.
Col. Juan de Bolivar y Villegas = María Petronila de Ponte.
Col. Juan Vicente de Bolivar = María Concepcion Palacios y Sojo.
SIMON BOLIVAR, the Liberator.

ransom, and returned to the coast, reaching their ships on June 4.[1]

VII

The principal feature of Venezuela's progress in the half-century following the period of the Welser administration, was utilising the agricultural resources of the country. The cultivation of the soil about Caracas was especially flourishing. Among the products were wheat, barley, sugar-cane, indigo, food vegetables of all kinds, figs, pomegranates, grapes, quinces, and tobacco. During this period the herds increased rapidly, furnishing an abundance of flesh for food, and hides and tallow for exportation. Flour was also conspicuous among the exports, and was sent to Cartagena. The number of manufactories that had come into existence in the sixteenth century was very limited. Sugar-mills were, however, made necessary by the cultivation of cane; and, just at the end of the century, the first plant for making soap was established.

The town of Caracas contained about fifteen hundred inhabitants, and consisted of two parallel streets running north and south. Two sharply defined classes had already become recognised. An aristocracy had been created by royal order. To encourage the union of the two races, the daughters of the caciques had been ennobled, and Spaniards without rank who married them acquired by this means the privileges of nobility. The nobles having ancient Spanish titles who joined the colony naturally felt themselves superior to the new colonial nobility, but the new nobles enjoyed all the privileges claimed by their distinguished rivals. Between the two classes, however, there existed persistent rivalry and jealousy, which con-

[1] Southey, *Chronological History of the West Indies*, i. 220; Kingsley, *Westward Ho!*; Humbert, *Les origines vénézuéliennes*, 65. This assault is sometimes attributed to Sir Francis Drake; see Oviedo y Baños, lib. vii. cap. x.; Baralt y Diaz, i. 254–57. But at the time Captain Preston made the assault Drake was in England, and did not arrive at Marie Galante until October 28, 1595.

stituted a feature of the society of Venezuela. The antagonism which existed between these classes was a phase of the conflict which marked the relations of the Spaniards to the creoles throughout Spain's American possessions during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; and one must take note of it if he would understand the great revolution which overthrew the dominion of Spain on the continent of America.[1]

It is difficult for one under the stress of life in the most active nations of these later days to form an accurate conception of the sluggish existence of the towns of Venezuela at the end of the seventeenth century. Before noon there appeared in the streets only the comparatively few men whose affairs called them to their offices, a number of the more pious women on their way to mass, and slaves sent to make the daily purchases of provisions for the families. Between the hour of the midday dinner and half-past three o'clock in the afternoon the streets were deserted, all shops were closed, and the town was in a state of completely-suspended animation. But at half-past three or four o'clock there was a general awakening, and a little later all the world was abroad, the brilliant costumes of the women, crowned by the graceful Castillian mantilla, making a lively scene on the plaza or the street which fashion had designated for the promenade. Men of distinction wore the long Spanish *capa*, while men of less pretensions wore the *capote*, a loose coat with sleeves, but without a hood. The *capa* and the *capote* were to such an extent indications of rank that they were often worn when not needed for warmth. Besides the daily promenade and the evening reunions, or *tertulias*, even Caracas, the capital, presented few means of social diversion. There was no theatre, and the senses to which that institution might have appealed had in a large measure to be satisfied by the brilliant spectacles and exercises of the church. The music of the mass, the procession, with

[1] Humbert, *Les origines vénézuéliennes*, 67–70.

its gorgeously-dressed images and the long line of lights, interested many persons who saw nothing in these things but the outward show. Those persons whose minds sought to penetrate beyond the visible and the real soon found themselves involved in the intricacies of ecclesiastical mythology.

The church offered not only a means of diversion, but it presented also a remedy for many of the evils that afflicted the society of Venezuela. When the locusts devoured the products of the cultivated fields about Caracas in 1574, the inhabitants appealed to Saint Maurice. In 1580 the city was ravaged by smallpox, and the ayuntamiento decided to build a church in honour of Saint Paul the Hermit. This pagan simplicity is manifest also in the tale of the Virgin of Capacabana, according to which an Indian walking on a street in Caracas took off his hat and saw a small coin fall before him. He picked it up, and ran to the nearest grog-shop, and bought a drink of spirits. A little later, while sitting at a street corner, he again removed his hat, when he saw a second similar half-real fall to the ground. He picked up this one, and spent it as he had spent the other. When he saw a third coin of the same kind fall under similar circumstances, he took it up and found on it an image of the Virgin. This one he hung about his neck, and when a little later he had been sentenced to capital punishment for a crime which he had committed, the executioner found that the rope broke as soon as it was put round the criminal's neck. Another and a stronger rope had the same fate, when the Indian declared that this miracle was due to the protection of the Virgin of Capacabana. He then removed the coin which he had hung about his neck, and asked that it might be taken to the church of Saint Paul. After the criminal had taken off the wonder-working coin, the hangman had no difficulty in executing him. The hero of this tale appears not to have been a wise Indian, since, having the Virgin clearly on his side, he threw off her protection without any adequate excuse.

CHAPTER VI

THE INVASION OF PERU AND THE OVERTHROW OF THE INCAS

I. Pizarro's agreement with Almargo and Luque. II. The invasion of Peru. III. Benalcázar's campaign to Quito.

I

DURING the first half of the sixteenth century, while Spanish explorers were making known to Europeans the northern part of South America—Venezuela, New Granada, and the Isthmus—and Spanish colonists were introducing certain features of European civilisation, other parts of the continent—Peru, Chile, and Rio de la Plata—were subject to a similar process. The brief form of the narrative by which these events are usually presented often makes it difficult to appreciate the element of time in the story. We turn from one event to another almost as if they followed one another with the years; yet from Vasco Nuñez's discovery of the Pacific to the occupation of Venezuela by the Welser company there was a period of fifteen years; to the conquest of Peru a period of eighteen years; to the foundation of Bogotá a period of twenty-five years; and to the foundation of Caracas a period of more than fifty years. In these intervals the colonists had time to introduce various forms of production. They bred useful animals, particularly cows and horses, and raised certain kinds of grain and other agricultural products for food. In many places they took advantage of the cultivation carried on by the Indians. In this way,

with respect to their support, they became more and more emancipated from the mother-country, and thus able to maintain themselves by their own resources. The local resources also contributed to the supplies required in fitting out expeditions for exploration or conquest. The progress of eighteen years at Panama had greatly facilitated the undertaking of Pizarro with reference to his proposed occupation of Peru.

Pizarro's agreement with Almagro and Luque seemed to offer him the means needed to reach the rich kingdom which the Indians affirmed existed in the south. Pizarro and Almagro had already made separate voyages along the southern coast, but they had not found the coveted kingdom, nor acquired the riches which they expected. Yet during these voyages the rumours became more definite, and confirmed their belief in the existence of a land of abundant wealth.

In this agreement Luque promised to advance the funds for the undertaking, while Almagro and Pizarro pledged themselves to carry out the plan of conquest. The conquered territory, the repartimientos, the treasures of gold, silver, and precious stones, and the spoils of every kind were to be divided equally among the three partners. Even one-third of all revenues derived from grants which the crown might make to either Pizarro or Almagro should be enjoyed by Luque, and might be transmitted by him to his heirs or legal representatives. The risk in the enterprise was borne by the two military leaders, who agreed, in case of failure, to reimburse Luque for his advances, and, for this purpose, pledged whatever property they might possess. They agreed, moreover, to allow the contract to have the force of a judgment issued against them by a court of justice. The contract was subscribed by Luque on March 10, 1526. It was duly attested by witnesses, and, although constituting the basis of a gigantic scheme of spoliation, it was pervaded by a distinctly religious tone, and was solemnly sworn

to and acknowledged " in the name of God and the Holy Evangelists." [1]

Pedrarias had promised to contribute to the expenses of the proposed undertaking, but he not only made no payments, but even demanded from Almagro, when requested to pay, four thousand pesos, and finally agreed to take one thousand, as compensation for relinquishing his claims to share in the profits of the expedition.[2]

In this transaction Luque was only the agent of Gaspar de Espinosa, who had had an important part in the conquest and settlement of Tierra Firme, and had held the office of alcalde in Darien. To him, therefore, and not to Luque, was due the stipulated one-third part of the proceeds of the projected conquest. The first expedition [3] made under this contract verified the rumours concerning the abundance of gold that might be found in Peru; but the leaders thought themselves too weak to undertake the conquest, and returned to Panama without the expected profits for Luque's investment. The difficulty encountered in getting funds for a subsequent expedition might be regarded as evidence that the captains did not make good to Luque the loss by the first voyage under the con-

[1] For the text of this contract, see *Libro primero de cabildos de Lima*, iii. 131; Prescott, *Conquest of Peru* (London, 1847), ii. 443–6; Mendiburu, *Diccionario histórico-biográfico del Perú* (1874–90), iii. 366–9; *Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, xix. 489.

[2] Oviedo, in his *Historia general de las Indias*, parte ii. cap. xxiii., says, " I was one of the witnesses who signed this instrument, in which Pedrarias released and assigned over all his interest in Peru to Almagro and his associates—by this act deserting the enterprise, and, by his littleness of soul, forfeiting the rich treasures which it is well known he might have acquired from the golden empire of the Incas." A translation of the account of Almagro's interview with Pedrarias on this subject is given in Appendix No. 5 of Prescott's *Conquest of Peru*, ii. 441–3. See also Andagoya's *Narrative*, 43; *Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, xix. 491.

[3] For a general account of this expedition, one may refer to Lorente, *Conquista del Perú* (Lima, 1861), 31–44; and in the third chapter of the first book of that work, pp. 60–75, the author gives a vivid account of the experiences of Pizarro and his men on the coast of Peru prior to the invasion.

tract. Fifteen hundred ducats were, however, raised to enable Pizarro to go to Spain, and appeal directly to the king for aid.

Pizarro left Panama for Spain in the spring of 1528. Neither his history nor his character was such as to suggest the typical Spanish courtier, yet his appearance before the king, the story of his exploits and privations, and the zeal which he had displayed in the cause of the crown made a deep impression. Nevertheless, there were months of waiting, during which Pizarro saw his funds gradually disappear, and with them the hope of being able to carry out his plans. Finally, on July 26, 1529, was issued the *Capitulación*,[1] which granted to Pizarro the powers and privileges he enjoyed in carrying on the conquest of Peru. In accordance with this decree, Pizarro and his associates were permitted to continue their conquests at their own expense; and to Pizarro, moreover, was granted territory extending from the river Santiago two hundred leagues southward. Pizarro was made governor and captain-general for life. Out of his salary, which was to be paid from the king's revenues derived from the lands in question, he was required to pay an annual compensation to an alcalde, ten squires, thirty peons, a physician, and an apothecary. He was given also the title of adelantado and alguacil-mayor of the province of Peru. In agreement with the royal officers of the province, he was permitted to construct and maintain four fortresses in such places as he might find convenient. He was permitted also to distribute the Indians among his followers under the law of encomiendas, and control the affairs of his province with that practically absolute authority implied in his title of captain-general. Pedro de Candia, who had accom-

[1] This document was dated at Toledo, and its title was "Capitulación que se tomó con el Capitan Francisco Pizarro para la conquista de Tumbez, *Doc. inéd.*, 271–85; Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, Appendix II, 447–53; Mendiburu, iii. 370–6; *Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, xix. 491. For decree granting Francisco Pizarro a coat of arms, see *Doc. inéd.*, xlii. 38.

panied Pizarro to Spain, was appointed captain of artillery. Diego de Almagro was made commandant of the fortress at Tumbez, and at the same time he was raised to the rank of a nobleman, and given all the honours and privileges which that title conveyed.

Father Luque was made Bishop of Tumbez, and protector of the Indians of Peru. Bartolomé Ruiz was granted the position of grand pilot of the South Sea, with compensation to be paid, like all the salaries granted through this instrument, from the proceeds of the lands conquered. Other companions of Pizarro were given either minor offices or titles of distinction. In order to increase the population of the province, certain restrictions on emigration were removed, and the ordinary laws of taxation were relaxed in favour of the settlers. The tax on the precious metals was reduced to one-tenth for a term of six years. It was provided that at the expiration of this period the tax of one-tenth should be changed to one-ninth, and thus increased year by year by one point till it should again reach one-fifth.

This concession imposed upon Pizarro certain obligations. He was required to leave Spain within six months after the date of the *Capitulación*, and to leave the Isthmus within six months after his arrival there. He was required to raise a force of not less than two hundred and fifty men. One hundred and fifty of them might be taken from Spain and other places where enlistment was not prohibited, and the rest might be raised in America. Besides soldiers, he was obliged to take with him certain royal officials, and such a number of ecclesiastics as might be needed to effect the conversion of the Indians. He might receive from the crown pecuniary assistance, especially for the purchase of artillery; also a number of horses, and permission to take at Panama, in agreement with the owners, such ships as he might need, this authorisation giving him a prior claim to the ships over other persons who might demand them for the transportation of goods. Not only were the

Indians subjected to encomenderos, but Pizarro was also authorised to introduce fifty slaves free of duty, under the provision that not less than a third of them should be women.

On Pizarro's arrival from Spain, Almagro and Luque met him on the Isthmus. Luque was apparently satisfied with his position as Bishop of Tumbez, but Almagro gave emphatic expression to the humiliation which he had suffered by the action of the king in conferring upon Pizarro alone the control of the undertaking. Pizarro, in explanation, affirmed that, in spite of his advocacy, the Council of the Indies refused to divide the supreme power between two persons. Almagro, moreover, looked with little favour on the presence of Pizarro's brothers, and saw in their coming an obstacle to his advancement.

These brothers were Juan, Gonzalo, and Hernando. Juan and Gonzalo, like Francisco, were illegitimate sons of Colonel Gonzalo Pizarro, who had figured in the Italian wars. Of the four brothers, Hernando alone was legitimate. Juan was involved almost continually in military service against the Indians while in Peru, and left the reputation of being the bravest and most gallant soldier of the family. Gonzalo is particularly noted as the leader of the revolt that was ended by the intervention of Pedro de la Gasca. He was executed in 1548. Hernando, as the only one of the four who was not a bastard, made it manifest in his conduct that he felt the superiority of his position. He was, borrowing the judgment of Mendiburu, " proud, false, and cruel." The fears which Almagro had entertained respecting the influence which the arrival of these brothers would exert on his fortunes seemed to be confirmed by the scornful treatment which he received from them when he and Luque appeared at Nombre de Dios to welcome their associate returning from Spain.[1]

[1] Lorente, *Conquista del Perú*, 75–133; Mendiburu, vi. 506–11; Barros Arana, *Historia de America*, i. 282–9; Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, i. 289.

II

The expedition for the conquest of Peru left Panama in January 1531. The history of this voyage, the landing at Tumbez, the advance with a part of the force into the interior, and the events associated with the tragic end of Atahualpa, and the overthrow of the Inca's rule, have, with justice, been made especially conspicuous, since they represent the most noteworthy crisis in the process of establishing Spanish rule in America. The brilliant narrative of Prescott, in his *History of the Conquest of Peru*, has made this episode more widely known than any other group of events in the history of South America. The invaders began at once to frame the institutions of a civilised society. The first step in this direction was the foundation of the municipality of San Miguel in the valley of Tangarara, about one hundred miles south of Tumbez. The men left at Tumbez were ordered to take up their residence at the new site; buildings were constructed from the timber of the forests and stone from the adjacent quarries; and a municipal government was organised in the form prescribed by law, consisting of regidores, alcaldes, and such other civil officers as were found to be necessary. To each settler was allotted a portion of the surrounding lands, and a certain number of Indians who might be required to cultivate these lands.[1]

The natives were placed under the control of the settlers, because it was assumed that without their ser-

[1] In 1872 the Hakluyt Society, in its forty-seventh volume, published translations of a number of important documents relating to Pizarro's conquest. These are: 1. Report of Francisco de Xeres; 2. Report of Miguel de Astete on the Expedition to Pachacamac; 3. Letter of Hernando Pizarro to the Royal Audiencia of Santo Domingo; 4. Report of Pedro Sancho on the partition of the ransom of Atahualpa. The last document gives the names of the persons who shared in the distribution and the number of marks of silver and the number of pesos of gold which each received. See also Zárate, *Historia del Perú*, in *Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, xxvi. 474–80.

vices the settlers would not be able to support themselves; and, moreover, the ecclesiastics and the leaders of the expedition agreed that if the Indians were distributed among the Christians, the cause of religion would thereby be advanced. The argument that by being subjected to the Spaniards the natives would have an opportunity of acquiring the true faith, was often used later to justify the system of encomiendas. The site originally selected was found to be unhealthy, and the town was moved to the bank of the Piura, where it stands at present, the oldest town in Peru founded by Europeans.

The march to Cajamarca, begun September 24, 1532, lasted two months. The company moved slowly because of the necessity of carefully reconnoitring the country in order to avoid falling into a position from which they could not readily escape. After they left the sandy coast, and approached the Andes, they came into a region which presented phases of a social life different from any they had seen elsewhere in America. There were evidences of an effective political organisation. There was an elaborate system of irrigation; the fields were carefully irrigated and cultivated; and there were facilities for transportation. When, finally, Pizarro and his little company had come into the presence of the multitude of Atahualpa's men, there appeared to him no course of safety, except such as would lead directly to the capture of the leader. Then followed the assault, the imprisonment of Atahualpa, the extraordinary ransom, the breach of faith, and the murder of the Inca.[1]

The power of the Inca kingdom was to such an extent centralised in the person of the ruler, that the fall of this

[1] Lorente, *Conquista del Perú*, lib. i. and ii. Documents relating to the ransom of Atahualpa, its distribution, and the disposition of the king's fifth are given in *Libro primero de cabildos de Lima*, iii. 121–30; Mendiburu, iii. 377–83; Oviedo, *Historia general de las Indias*, lib. xlvi. caps. xv., xxii.; Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, ii. 455; *Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, xix. 499–501.

single support was necessarily followed by the collapse of the whole political structure. The ambition of local factions became manifest. Cuzco wished to shake off the yoke of Quito. Provinces that only a short time before had been compelled to acknowledge the Inca's power, were now moved to assert and maintain their independence. The removal of the person whose decrees were obeyed in superstitious reverence for the law-giver, destroyed the motive for obedience, and made anarchy practically inevitable. Instead of the individual conscience imposing duty, there had existed only the commands of a deified chief, and his destruction appears to have eliminated the motive to right action. Excesses and crimes now became frequent, where before they had been almost entirely unknown. In the state of social dissolution which followed the overthrow of the Inca's rule, it was natural that an opinion in favour of alliance with the invaders should arise in certain quarters; for even if their acts had been cruel, they had manifested a force hitherto unknown in the land, and the exercise of this force might prevent the appearance of still greater evils.

Pizarro wisely took advantage of this state of things to form friendly relations with some of the natives. He furthered the election of Toparpa, a son of Atahualpa, to succeed as Inca the executed chief, and in this way sought to avert the possibility of defeat through a comprehensive union against him. Toparpa died shortly after his election, but the relation effected by his election between the Indians and the Spaniards helped to smooth the way for Pizarro. After a residence of seven months in Cajamarca, Pizarro entered upon the march to Cuzco, with four hundred and eighty men. During this journey, which lasted some months, he organised, in 1533, the municipality of Jauja, where he remained about twenty days. He then passed on towards Cuzco, and, after two or three encounters with the Indians, entered and took possession of the

city. Many of the residents fled from the town before the invading soldiery, who turned at once to plundering the temples and other places where gold could be found. Pizarro ordered all these spoils to be brought together, and caused them to be distributed among his followers.[1]

The municipal government organised in Cuzco was composed of two alcaldes and eight regidores. Among the latter were Gonzalo and Juan Pizarro, brothers of the captain-general. The oath of office was administered to the members of the new government on March 24, 1534, Spaniards were invited to become residents of Cuzco, and Pizarro, as governor of Peru, offered them certain houses and lands which had come into his possession as a result of the conquest. Pizarro also laid the foundations of an ecclesiastical organisation, and Father Valverde was made Bishop of Cuzco. One side of the plaza was selected as a site for the cathedral, and monasteries rose in the place of edifices formerly devoted to the Indian worship, and the ecclesiastics who came with Pizarro, and those who came as later reinforcements, carried on with zeal the work of converting the Indians, and, on the part of some of the missionaries, with a disinterested devotion to their spiritual welfare.

III

Pizarro recognised the importance of the colony of San Miguel, since it commanded the entrance to that part of Peru which he had occupied; and he appointed Sebastian de Benalcázar to be its governor. Benalcázar's knowledge that Pedro de Alvarado, governor of Guatemala,

[1] Mendiburu, vi. 438–42; Lorente, *Conquista del Perú*, 210–28, deals with this episode in his characteristic manner, making use of a somewhat vivid imagination. Mendiburu corrects Prescott's statement concerning the successor of Atahualpa, affirming that by treating with the nobles and military leaders Pizarro caused the son of Atahualpa to be recognised as king with the usual demonstrations.

was preparing to take possession of Quito, which was supposed to contain large quantities of the precious metals, induced him to prepare an expedition on his own account to occupy this northern capital of the Incas. His position as governor of San Miguel gave him an opportunity to obtain men, and to make the other necessary provision for the undertaking; for the reports that had already gone abroad concerning the wealth of this part of the world had awakened a spirit of adventure everywhere, and men with horses and equipment from Panama and Nicaragua hastened to San Miguel as soon as they learned of Benalcázar's plans. The governor was therefore able, in October 1533, to enter upon his campaign. He had appointed Juan de Ampudia, a semi-savage, as his lieutenant-general, who, besides the governor, was the only person with military training in the company. The number of men in Benalcázar's little army was about two hundred and eighty.

At this time Rumiñahui held the supreme power in Quito. He had been one of the Inca's chief officers, and when Atahualpa was murdered, he made himself recognised as the supreme ruler of this region. He had usurped this authority with such acts of cruelty as to alienate and turn into enemies a large part of the inhabitants of the provinces nominally subject to his control. As soon as he learned of Benalcázar's action, he advanced with a body of four thousand men to repel the invasion. The forces met in a little valley on the border between the provinces of Puruhá and Cañar, where the Indians occupied a small fort. In the battle fought here, the Indians are reported to have lost six hundred men, while of the Spaniards only two were killed, but a large number were severely wounded. The engagement closed at nightfall, but without a positive result. Rumiñahui withdrew to effect a union with the rest of his soldiers, who are said to have numbered eight thousand. A second conflict was

also not decisive, and caused the Spaniards to discuss the project to abandon the undertaking. They were hampered in their movements by the large number of their wounded, and they had reason to doubt their ability to carry their campaign to a successful issue. At this stage of the affairs, the country was shaken by a terrible eruption of Cotopaxi, and to the frightened followers of Rumiñahui the tradition concerning the destruction of their kingdom seemed about to be fulfilled. The Indian forces withdrew, a large part of them gradually abandoning their leader and giving up what appeared to them a hopeless struggle against a decree of fate foretold by their gods. By this the danger of annihilation, which threatened the soldiers of Benalcázar, was averted.[1]

As a result of the eruption, the region was covered with ashes, and the vegetation had almost entirely disappeared. The hamlets and towns that had been spared by the volcano were destroyed by the Indians themselves in their flight towards the north. When they reached the capital, they carried off the treasure of Atahualpa, and surrendered the city to the flames. Having completed his work of destruction, Rumiñahui retired to the mountains. From Riobamba the Spaniards followed the re-retreating horde towards Quito without encountering any opposition by the Indians. They were nevertheless disappointed on reaching Quito near the end of December 1533, not to find the treasure they had expected, but only a mass of smoking ruins. The lack of shelter for his men led Benalcázar to retire to Riobamba with the majority of his followers, leaving his lieutenant and a few soldiers to provide quarters, and prepare for the formal entry of the conqueror. The next year, 1534, in which this event took

[1] Lopez de Gomara, *Historia de las Indias*, in *Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, xxii. 234. For some account of Rumiñahui immediately before the advance of Benalcázar, see Velasco, *Hist. de Quito* (Paris, 1840), ii. 4–17, 29.

place, may be regarded as the date of the foundation of the Spanish city of Quito. Hereafter Benalcázar was chiefly engaged in the conquest and government of the province of Popayan.[1]

[1] Groot, *Historia de Nueva Granada*, i. 27, 108–10; Cevallos, *Historia del Ecuador*, i. 262–75; Lorente, *Conquista del Perú*, 232–36; Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, ii. 14–16; Benedetti, *Historia de Colombia*, 128–34; Zárate, *Historia del Perú*, in *Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, xxvi. 480–84; *Documentos literarios del Perú*, colectados y arreglados por Manuel de Odriozola (Lima, 1873), iv. 28, 29; Piedrahita, lib. iv. cap. i. 108–115.

CHAPTER VII

RIVALRY OF SPANISH LEADERS

I. The intervention of Alvarado. II. The extension of Pizarro's territory and the grant to Almagro. III. The dispute about Cuzco.

I

WHILE Benalcázar was forming plans for future conquests, and waiting at Riobamba for the partial reconstruction of Quito, he was surprised to learn of the approach of Almagro at the head of a company of soldiers. Pizarro's appointment of Benalcázar to be the governor of San Miguel did not authorise him to undertake the conquest of Quito. When, therefore, information reached Cuzco that Benalcázar was preparing an expedition designed to take that city, Pizarro and his associates had grave suspicions concerning the motives that had prompted this campaign. They feared the loss of the northern part of their territory, and it was decided that Benalcázar should be called to account for his unauthorised undertaking. Almagro led a body of soldiers to San Miguel, but before his arrival Benalcázar had left the colony. Almagro followed him to Riobamba, and here Benalcázar affirmed his loyalty in such a manner that the two leaders had no difficulty in entering into friendly relations with one another. Here they awaited with some anxiety the arrival of Pedro de Alvarado and his troops, who had landed at Caráques in March 1534.

Alvarado had served under Cortes in Mexico, and at his post as governor of Guatemala, he had received reports of the spoils which Pizarro had acquired in Peru; and

since the northern capital of the Incas, the ancient residence of Atahualpa, was still in the hands of the natives, he fancied that through its conquest he might secure an amount of wealth comparable with that which Pizarro had received. He, therefore, organised a well-equipped force of five hundred men, about half of whom were mounted, and with this little army he sailed for the south in February 1534. From Caráques he proceeded by a difficult march towards Quito, which he pretended to believe lay without the territory granted to Pizarro. On this march, the dense forests and swamps of the Ecuadorian lowlands, the declivities of the Andes, the fevers of the tropical coast, the cold, rare atmosphere of the mountains following the heat and moisture of the jungle, presented conditions under which a quarter of the soldiers, a large number of the horses, and the greater part of the Indian carriers succumbed and perished.[1]

Almagro sent scouts to find out the position of Alvarado and his troops. The scouts, having been captured, were afterwards released and sent back to Almagro with a letter from Alvarado, who affirmed that his expedition was designed only to occupy territory which lay without the limits of Pizarro's grant; that he did not propose to give annoyance to anyone, or cause dissensions; and that he was approaching Riobamba, where they might consider what would be agreeable to both parties. In replying to this letter, Almagro sent two commissioners to Alvarado to express his sympathy in view of the misfortunes he had suffered on the march, and to say that he was disposed to give full credit to the statements contained in the communication which he had received. At the same time the messengers were secretly instructed to mingle with the soldiers, and to give them such information concerning

[1] For detailed accounts of this march, see Herrera, *Dec.* V, lib. vi. cap. i., ii., vii., viii., ix.; Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y conq.*; Oviedo, *Hist. de las Indias*, parte iii. lib. viii. cap. xx.; Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, ii. 10–14; Letter of Alvarado, March 10, 1534, *Doc. inéd.*, xli. 513.

the riches of Cuzco as would lead them to desire to join the forces of Almagro.[1]

Some of Alvarado's captains were not disposed to approve of the submissive tone of his reply to Almagro. The younger and more ambitious of them thought it cowardly to give up without a question the object of all their expense, toil, and suffering; and, since they outnumbered the forces of Almagro and Benalcázar, they wished to assume control of the region, even though such action might lead to active hostilities. The negotiations conducted by commissioners appointed to represent the two forces resulted, however, in an amicable agreement, under which Alvarado surrendered his ships and munitions, and left his troops free to enter, if they wished to do so, the service of Pizarro; while in compensation he received one hundred thousand *castellanos de oro;*[2] and, moreover, he promised to make no contention respecting his rights, and to return to Guatemala. The greater part of Alvarado's troops remained with Benalcázar, and took part in the conquest in the northern provinces, where the city of Popayan was founded in 1536.

[1] Cevallos, *Historia del Ecuador*, i. 276–89; Mendiburu, i. 111–14, 202–9; Lorente, *Conquista del Perú*, 237–51; Herrera, *Hist. Gen., Dec.* V, lib. vi. cap. i., ii., v., vi. vii., viii., ix., x., xi.; Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, ii. 13–17.

[2] The *castellano de oro*, the *peso de oro*, and the *ducado de oro* were the same thing at this period, and were equal in value to four *pesos de plata*. "Era lo que hoy decimos un dublón de á cuatro." Benedetti, *Hist. de Colombia*, 166. Benzoni, *History of the New World*, 154, says: "It was arranged that Alvarado should cede his army to Pizarro and Almagro, and that they should give him a hundred thousand golden ducats, on condition that he should go away and never more return to that kingdom. In this manner Alvarado departed from Peru with four servants, and returned to Guatemala in good spirits and contented." Lorente, *Conquista del Perú*, 237–57.

One of Alvarado's captains was Garcilasso de la Vega, father of the writer of the *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*. He remained in Peru after the agreement had been formed between Alvarado and Almagro, and was engaged in the civil wars. He established himself as a citizen of Cuzco, and married Isabel Chimpa Ocllo, a daughter of Hualpa Tupac, and granddaughter of Inca Tupac Yupanqui.

II

An account of the early events of the conquest of Peru was presented to Charles V by Hernando Pizarro, who visited Spain in 1534. He took with him the king's fifth of the precious metals that had been accumulated prior to his departure. This contribution embraced not merely bars of gold, but also many vases and other works of Indian art that had been taken from the temples, and brought together as the ransom of Atahualpa. No other arguments were needed to persuade the emperor to grant Pizarro's request. In a royal decree, therefore, dated at Toledo, May 4, 1534, he enlarged the territory granted to Pizarro. This addition extended from Cincha, the southern limit of the previous grant, seventy leagues towards the south; and it was expressly stated that the seventy leagues measured along the coast should be over and above the two hundred leagues that had been conveyed by the *Capitulación* of 1529, so that there should be in all a territory, the side of which along the coast should measure two hundred and seventy leagues.[1]

Chimpa Ocllo was the name of the ñusta, or princess, but, like many others, she received a Spanish name on the occasion of her baptism, and was called Doña Isabel. She became the mother of the historian, some account of whose life and writings is given by C. R. Markham in the introduction to his translation of the *Royal Commentaries*.

[1] The document conveying the additional grant to Pizarro is printed in Carlos Morla Vicuña's *Estudio historico* (Leipzig, 1903), Appendix No. 2: "Nos, acatando lo susodicho y los servicios que vos el dicho Francisco Pizarro nos habeis fecho en el dicho descubrimiento del Perú, y los que esperamos que nos hareis de aqui adelanto, é por vos facer merced, queremos y es nuestra voluntad de vos alargar los límites de la dicha gobernacion en la tierra de los dichos caciques nombrados Coli é Chipi, con que no exceda de *setenta leguas* de luengo de costa." The royal decree of May 4, 1534; *Libro primero de cabildos de Lima*, iii. 147.

Referring to the results of Hernando's mission to Spain, Lorente says, "Al Gobernador de Perú se le concedieron el titulo de *Marqués de los Atavillos*" (*Conquista del Perú*, 259). Larraburre y Unanue, *Monografías Historico-Americanas*, 325–40, discusses the question, and

Later in the same month, May 21, 1534, the emperor granted to Diego Almagro the territory extending southward two hundred leagues, beginning with the limit that had been fixed for Pizarro's realm, towards the Strait of Magellan.[1] There was no lack of definiteness in the terms of the grants to the two commanders, but, for want of accurate measurements, it was still doubtful to whom belonged the ancient capital, Cuzco. The conflict which threatened to grow out of this controversy was temporarily set aside by a compact between Pizarro and Almagro, in which they agreed to observe towards one another such conduct as civilised men have supposed was demanded by

makes the statement that "es indudable que Francisco Pizarro no fué Marqués de los Atavillos y de los Charcas, como han pretendido algunos historiadores." There is no legitimate ground for doubting that the title of Marquis was conferred upon Francisco Pizarro, but it does not appear what lands were associated with the title. He had encomiendas in the region that became known as Upper Peru, and it is possible that this may account for the form of the title which some writers have used. Although after a certain period his signature was always written, *El Marqués Pizarro*, by his secretary or by a clerk, Larrabure y Unanue is of the opinion that this was not all of his proper title. "Como se ha visto," he writes, "no creo que el marquesado de Francisco Pizárro sea una simple cuestión de titulo: no opino que solo hubo desidia de parte del conquistador, ó de fray Vicente Valverde, en señalar las tierras; ó bien un olvido del Emperador. Yo atribuyo más importancia á este asunto. En el aplazamiento estudiado de Carlos V, veo el justo deseo que tenian los soberanos de separar todo combustible en la primera guerra civil del Perú, y juzgo el prolongado silencio y la actitud del Marqués, como un acto de respeto y acatamiento á la voluntad imperial y de que, como buen español, dió siempre relevantes pruebas" (*Monografias Historico-Americanas*, 339).

The editor of *Libro primero de cabildos de Lima*, ii. 161, affirms that, concerning this subject, it is only certain that Pizarro received the "titulo de Marqués, sin denominación." The whole discussion to which reference is here made covers pp. 159–66. Zárate, *Historia del Perú*, lib. iii. cap. v.; Herrera, *Dec.* VI, lib. 6, cap. ix.; Garcilaso, *Comentarios reales*, lib. ii: part II, cap. xxii.; Quintana, *Vida de españoles célebres*, in *Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, xix. 343.

For decrees and provisions relating to the encomiendas of Francisco Pizarro, his coat of arms as marquis, the commission to Bishop Valverde and Castro respecting the Indians that were to be assigned to him as vassals, see *Libro primero de cabildos de Lima*, ii. 167–88.

[1] *Doc. inéd.*, xxii. 338-50.

common decency. Neither should malign the other, nor injure him with respect to his reputation, his person, or his property. They swore to carry out strictly the terms of the present agreement; that neither should report or write to the king without the knowledge of the other; and that all the profits and interests which should be acquired by future conquests and discoveries should be shared equally by both. Upon either of the parties who should act contrary to this compact, they invoked the Divine wrath, and prayed that Heaven might visit him with the loss of honour, family, and property in this life, and with eternal perdition in the life to come. The agreement was confirmed by a solemn oath taken on the sacrament, recorded by a notary, and attested by a large number of witnesses.[1]

III

The question as to the possession of Cuzco was unsettled when Almagro determined to explore the southern part of the territory covered by the concession of May 21, 1534. The adventurers who had been attracted by the wealth of the country were easily persuaded to join any exploring expedition; and from these Almagro gathered a force of five hundred Spaniards, who, on setting out for Chile, in 1535, were accompanied by a troop of Indian carriers said to contain fifteen thousand persons. He chose the route over the mountains, instead of that along the shore, and it is reported that on the way he lost one hundred and fifty Spaniards and ten thousand Indians. The hardships of the mountain journey, the fierce hostility

[1] The document conveying territory to Almagro was entitled, *Capitulación que se tomó con el Mariscal Don Diego de Almagro para descubrir doscientos leguas del Mar del Sur hacia el Estrecho.* It has been printed in *Documentos inéditos*, tomo xxii. 338–50. The contract between Pizarro and Almagro, dated at Cuzco, June 12, 1535, the original of which is in the archives at Simancas, may be read in full in Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, ii. Appendix No. 11; Lorente, *Conquista del Perú*, 260–64.

of the Indians, and the privations of the desert cooled the ardour of the survivors, and made them anxious to abandon an undertaking which gave no promise of profit. The men were dissatisfied, and their complaints had much influence in persuading Almagro to return to Cuzco. Taking advantage of the uncertainty which prevailed concerning the position of the southern boundary of Pizarro's territory, Almagro was enabled to assert a claim to the ancient capital.[1]

Hernando Pizarro was, however, in possession of the city; but at the time in question no measurements had been made which would enable anyone to know whether the boundary between the territories of Almagro and Pizarro lay north or south of Cuzco. Informed that Pizarro was strengthening his position, and that reinforcements were approaching, Almagro entered the city, captured Hernando Pizarro, and imprisoned him, together with fifteen or twenty of his principal officers. This event appears to have convinced the inhabitants of the justice of Almagro's claim. The troops sent by Francisco Pizarro from Lima had been several months on the way, and, after they had arrived at Jauja, Almagro sent a commission to their leader, Alonso Alvarado, consisting of

[1] Zárate, Agustin de, *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Perú*, lib. iii. cap. i–iv.

In a note to *The Life and Acts of Don Alonso Enriquez de Guzman*, Sir Clements R. Markham refers to the fact that "the point where the line was to commence was not fixed, nor was it specified how it was to be measured, and in short the question of the boundary was a very complicated and difficult one, even for an unprejudiced person to decide. But in quitting Cuzco to conquer what he considered his province farther south, Almagro had virtually conceded the point; and he now returned to open the question, after finding the bleak plains of the Collao and of Chile, and the sandy wastes of Atacama, very distasteful both to himself and to his followers." Hakluyt, xxix. 107. It does not, however, follow, because Almagro went to explore that part of his territory where his rights were undisputed, that by that act he relinquished his right to those portions which, for lack of an authoritative survey, were the object of conflicting claims. On the geographical difficulties involved in the contest, see Morla Vicuña, *Estudio histórico*, 107.

Juan de Guzman, Diego de Mercado, Francisco de Prado, Diego and Gomez de Alvarado, and Alonzo Enriquez de Guzman.

Enriquez de Guzman, one of these messengers, has left a record of this mission to the camp of the enemy. "We travelled all night," he wrote in his *Life and Acts*, "and arrived at the camp of Alvarado at dawn, which we found in a very strong position, surrounded by lofty mountains. In front of the camp flowed a broad and rapid river, spanned by a bridge which was defended by pieces of artillery. The said Captain Alvarado received us courteously and with open arms on the bridge, and conducted us up the side of the mountain to his quarters, where there were many knights and honourable persons, and where we were invited to dinner. Afterwards he stood up in the midst of his officers, and said: 'Gentlemen, I come to succour the city of Cuzco, by order of my master, Don Francisco Pizarro, because it is a part of his territory, and because he believed that Don Diego Almagro was dead. I now hear that he has entered by force into the city of Cuzco, and made the inhabitants obey him as their governor, seizing Hernando and Gonzalo Pizarro, the brothers of our master, with the intention of beheading them; for which reason I shall detain your worships.'"

The messengers were interrupted in their reply; their swords were taken away, and they were put in irons, under a strong guard. Later they were confined in a stone prison, which the Indians were employed to build. When Almagro found that negotiations for the release of the prisoners were fruitless, he marched out of Cuzco with four hundred and fifty men, and reached the side of the river opposite Alvarado's camp. The efforts that were made, at the suggestion of the prisoners, to have the impending battle put off, were unsuccessful. The cavalry crossed the river at a ford, while the infantry rushed across the bridge and scattered the small body of defenders at the farther end. The result was quickly determined;

and Alvarado surrendered with all his force. Enriquez de Guzman, one of the prisoners, says, "Only three or four were killed, and our deliverers came up and let us out, after we had suffered in that solitary prison for twenty-seven days. I feared all the time that they would put me to death, because I was an enemy of Hernando Pizarro; and I joyfully returned to Cuzco with the victorious party." [1]

Almagro's victory caused Francisco Pizarro to make provision for the defence of Lima. At the same time Pizarro sent a commission to negotiate with a commission appointed by Almagro for the purpose of settling the boundary dispute. Alonzo Enriquez de Guzman, who was one of Almagro's commissioners, mentions Diego Nunez de Mercado as the other; and names Francisco de Chaves and the Friar Juan de Olivas as the commissioners of Francisco Pizarro.

The commissioners failed to reach a satisfactory conclusion, and subsequently the friar Bobadillo was appointed to be the arbitrator of the controversy. Enriquez de Guzman, who, together with his associates, was supplanted by the friar, naturally felt chagrin at his dismissal, affirmed that "the devil always seeks for suitable men to do his will in affairs of importance; and he, therefore, chose this friar." He also presents the following as Bobadilla's address to Almagro: "I regret that you should have trusted your honour and estate to four covetous persons, thus placing what you have gained with so much labour in great danger; for these four cannot arrange this affair, two of them taking the part of their master, and the other two of theirs. You ought to appoint a judge between them." Almagro replied that he did not know a person who was fit for such a post, unless it might be the

[1] *The Life and Acts of Don Alonzo Enriquez de Guzman*, in Hakluyt, xxix. 114. In a note to this passage, Markham gives some account of his efforts "to trace out the scene of these events, and the site of Alvarado's camp," and makes reference to an ancient stone building on an isolated hill, which was probably the building in which the commissioners were imprisoned.

friar himself. "If you leave the business in my hands," the friar answered, "I swear to you by the habit of our Lady of Mercy which I have received, to give you the boundary you have claimed, until a competent judge shall have arrived from his Majesty the King our Lord." [1]

The negotiations under the mediation of the friar were carried on, in November 1537, at Mala, on the coast of Peru, about fifty miles south of Lima. No conclusion having been reached by the method provided for the correspondence of the two parties, the matter in dispute was left to the arbitral decision of Bobadilla. The decision rendered provided that the exact latitude of Pizarro's northern boundary should be determined, and by proper measurements from this the southern boundary should be fixed. Pending the execution of this plan, Almagro was required to surrender Cuzco to Pizarro within thirty days, and to give up his prisoners within six days. Pizarro was required to furnish Almagro with a ship to take his despatches to the king; and each party was obliged to retire within the limits of its undisputed territory; and both should abstain from all hostilities in the future. This decision was announced, November 15, 1537.[2]

This treaty having been concluded, Pizarro made somewhat extravagant manifestations of friendship for Almagro's officers, and particularly for his son, Diego Almagro, but at the same time he was making preparations for military operations. His show of good-will deceived the unsuspicious mind of his rival. The interviews at Mala were scarcely ended before Pizarro sought to arouse the warlike spirit of his troops by reciting to them the

[1] *Life and Acts of Enriquez de Guzman*, in Hakluyt, xxix. 117.

[2] Hakluyt, xxix. 117, 118, 119; Alonso Enriquez de Guzman's letter to the emperor, written at Seville after his return from Peru, in Hakluyt, xxix. 142–53; for the documents in this case, see *Libro primero de cabildos de Lima*, iii. 168–82. Numerous letters and *relaciónes* relating to the differences between Almagro and Pizarro were sent to the king, some of which are printed in *Documentos inéditos*, iii. 58, 64, 70, 88, 137, 142, 148, 152.

wrongs he had suffered at Almagro's hands. On account of his age he proposed to turn over the command to his brothers; then, in order that Hernando might not be embarrassed by obligations assumed on the occasion of his liberation, Francisco Pizarro undertook to release him from all promises made to Almagro.

The agreement formed at Mala was short-lived. After a brief interval Pizarro informed Almagro that it was annulled, and commanded him to abandon his pretensions to Cuzco. It thus became clear that clemency was an unprofitable virtue in dealing with such men as Francisco and Hernando Pizarro; and Almagro's mistake was to expect, under the circumstances, good results from his considerate treatment of his enemies after he had inaugurated a policy of force. His outlook was not hopeful. Hernando Pizarro had been liberated; he had repudiated all the obligations he had assumed in acquiring his liberty; and, by the retirement of Francisco Pizarro to Lima, he had become the leader of the troops that had started in pursuit of Almagro, on the way to Cuzco.

After reaching the capital, Almagro wished to open negotiations with the enemy, but his faithful and wise lieutenant, Orgoñez, persuaded him that it was too late, and that there was no way out of his difficulties but through victory in battle. At this time Almagro was ill, and unable to take active command of his troops. This responsibility fell upon Orgoñez. The two forces met at Las Salinas, a place that derived its name from certain salt pits, about three miles from Cuzco. Pizarro had about seven hundred men, and Almagro five hundred. The results of the conflict were that about one hundred and fifty or two hundred men were killed, among whom was the heroic leader, Orgoñez; and that Almagro was captured and his little army completely overthrown and scattered.[1]

[1] A contemporary account of the battle of Las Salinas is found in *The Life and Acts of Don Alonso Enriquez de Guzman*, translated by C. R. Markham, and published by the Hakluyt Society, vol. xxix. 125–

This last act of the early Peruvian tragedy was played in the presence of hundreds of Indians, who looked on from the neighbouring heights. They saw hope of advantage for themselves in this bloody conflict between two parties of their enemies, and the greater the carnage the greater their advantage. The last scene of the act was the imprisonment and execution of Almagro. " Hernando Pizarro notified the sentence of death to him; and the unfortunate old man, when he had heard it, considered it to be an abominable deed, contrary to law, justice, and reason. He was horrified, and said that he appealed to the emperor and king, Don Carlos, his lord. Hernando Pizarro answered that he should dispose his mind to think of spiritual things, for that the sentence would be executed. Then the poor old man went down on his knees on the ground, and said: 'O my Lord Don Hernando Pizarro, content yourself with the vengeance you have already enjoyed. Think that, besides the treason to God and the emperor that my death will make you guilty of, you give me an evil return for what I have done for you; for I was the first step of the ladder by which you and your brother rose to power. Remember, too, that when you were my prisoner, those of my council importuned me to cut off your head, and I resisted, and gave you your life.' Hernando Pizarro then answered: 'Sir, do not thus degrade yourself; die as bravely as you have lived; your present conduct is not that of a knight.' The unfortunate old man replied that he was human, and dreaded death, 'although,' he added, 'I do not fear it so much for myself,

130. Prescott, who was not aware of the existence of this account, has left a characteristic description of the battle in his *History of the Conquest of Peru*, bk. iv. chap. ii. Other readily-available sources of information are: Herrera, *Historia general, Dec.* vi. lib. 3, 4; Zárate, *Historia del Descubrimiento y Conquista del Perú*, lib. 3, cap. 8–11; Pedro Pizarro, *Relación del Descubrimiento y Conquista de los Reinos del Perú;* Garcilasso de la Vega, *Comentarios Reales del Perú*, parte 2, lib. 2, cap. 35–8; Relación hecha por el Tesorero Manuel de Espinar al Emperador, in *Libro primero de cabildos de Lima*, iii. 189–216.

for I am old and infirm, and have few years to live in the course of nature, but rather for the sake of so many noble knights who are my followers, and who will be lost without a leader when I am gone.' Hernando Pizarro went away, saying that he would send a friar to whom the old man might confess his sins." [1]

Almagro was executed in the prison at Cuzco, and after his death Francisco Pizarro was the undisputed master of Peru, with a prospect of extending his jurisdiction by conquests farther towards the south.

In this manner was ended the first civil war between different factions of Spaniards in Peru. The general effect on the condition of the country was a marked increase in disorder and confusion everywhere. The ancient government had been overthrown, and in view of the conflicts between the Spaniards and the Indians, and the internal struggles arising from the jealousy of the Spanish leaders, the province appeared to be on the verge of hopeless anarchy. As a means of averting the impending danger, Pizarro established settlements in the disaffected districts. These were called cities, and had, in fact, the form of a municipal corporation, but they were in reality military colonies for the maintenance of order and the Spanish authority. Settlers were attracted to them by the protection which they afforded, and by the grants of land offered, and they grew rapidly to be not merely military outposts, but also centres of local commerce. Among the settlements of this time, which later became conspicuous cities, were La Plata, in the district of Charcas, Arequipa at an oasis in the desert midway between the mountain and the sea, and Lima on the Rimac.

The party of Almagro was not destroyed by the execution of its chief. This act, aside from its criminal quality,

[1] *The Life and Acts of Don Alonzo Enriquez de Guzman*, Hakluyt, xxix. 131, 132, 150, 151; Garcilasso de la Vega, *Com. Real*, parte ii. lib. ii. cap. 39; Herrera, *Hist. General, Dec.* vi. lib. 5, cap. i.; Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, ii. 116–20.

was clearly a political blunder. It provoked a desire for revenge, and the conspirators who assassinated Francisco Pizarro, June 16, 1541, only gave effective expression to the hatred which the conduct of Pizarro had inspired in the followers of Almagro.[1]

Almagro had appointed his son as his successor, and the younger Almagro was thus authorised to govern the territory that had been granted to his father. He was proclaimed governor of Peru, and after the death of Pizarro, he was recognised as such by the cabildo of Lima.

The conflict between Pizarro and Almagro induced the authorities in Spain to send Vaca de Castro to bring about the pacification of the country. They empowered him also to assume the duties of governor in case of Pizarro's death.[2]

News of the death of Pizarro reached Castro before his arrival in Peru, and in Quito he caused himself to be recognised as governor. He went afterwards to Peru, and there found himself opposed by the younger Almagro. All the attempts to settle the differences by negotiations were fruitless, and the active hostilities that ensued culminated in the battle of Chupas,[3] on September 16, 1542, and the capture and execution of Almagro.

After the overthrow of the younger Almagro, Vaca de Castro undertook to carry out that part of his instructions which related to the creation of new encomiendas and the substitution of tribute by the Indians for the personal

[1] On the occasion of the exhumation of the body of Francisco Pizarro three hundred and fifty years after the assassination, Larrabure y Unanue made a careful statement of the circumstances of the assassination gathered from the available historical sources, at the same time giving an account of the wounds which caused the conquistador's death. This statement is published in his *Monografias Historico-Americanas*, 341–55 Letter of Martin de Arauco on the death of Pizarro, *Doc. inéd.*, iii. 212.

[2] A circumstantial account of the assassination of Francisco Pizarro is given by Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, bk. iv. chap. v.

[3] For an account of this battle, see Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, ii. 185–218.

service that had been required of them. It is probable that, even under his instructions, the wisdom and prudence of De Castro would have enabled him to avert the revolution that was destined to follow a rigid execution of the emperor's proposed reform, as provided in the New Laws. But in an evil hour the authorities of Spain fell under the influence of the unwise yet well-intentioned Las Casas; and, what was still more unfortunate, they determined to send the narrow-minded, conceited, and pedantic Blasco Núñez de Vela, with the title of viceroy, to introduce and apply these laws in Peru.

CHAPTER VIII

QUESADA'S EXPEDITION TO SANTA FÉ DE BOGOTÁ

I. Pedro Fernandez de Lugo. II. Quesada and his march to the highlands. III. The Chibchas. IV. The campaigns on the plateau and the founding of Santa Fé de Bogotá. V. The meeting of Quesada, Benalcázar, and Federmann.

I

THE fame of the spoils of Peru inspired the Spaniards with great expectations, stimulated their desire to emigrate, and moved the colonists already in America to undertake new explorations. The new prospects of gain excited the avarice of the crown, and led to the adoption of a new rule for the distribution of the treasure to be acquired. After the capture of Atahualpa, in Peru, and of Montezuma, in Mexico, it appeared not unreasonable to suppose that similar events might follow in other parts of the continent. A general law was, therefore, framed to cover all subsequent cases, which provided "that, if in this conquest any prince should be captured, from all the treasure that may be had from him by way of ransom, or in any other manner whatsoever, there shall be taken the sixth part of it for the royal treasury, and the rest shall be distributed among the conquistadores, after taking out the royal fifth; but that if the said prince should be killed in battle, or in the execution of justice, or in any violent manner whatsoever, then the *half* of the aforesaid goods and treasure shall be for the royal treasury, and only the other half shall be distributed, after taking away, in all cases, the royal fifth." [1]

[1] Quoted by Joaquin Acosta, *Nueva Granada*, 148; Piedrahita, *Historia general del Nueva Reino de Granada*, 97.

After Pizarro's invasion of Peru, the most noteworthy expedition for exploration and conquest in South America was that undertaken by Jimenez de Quesada, while Pedro Fernandez de Lugo was governor and captain-general of the province of Santa Marta. Fernandez de Lugo had been governor of the Canary Islands, and the flattering accounts which he had received of Santa Marta and the neighbouring region induced him to seek the new office. He was appointed in 1535, two years before the arrest of Governor Heredia, who had founded Cartagena. It was provided that the territory over which he should rule as governor of Santa Marta should be limited on the west by the Magdalena River, and that this stream should constitute a common boundary between the province of Santa Marta and the province of Cartagena.

Governor Lugo was authorised to grant lands to the new settlers; and he might introduce one hundred slaves, one-third of whom should be women, without paying a duty on them. His instructions required him to prevent all ill-treatment of the Indians, as well as their reduction to slavery. To this general requirement the exception was made that they might be enslaved in case they refused to receive the priests, or assumed an attitude of armed hostility; but this exception was quite sufficient to render the general injunction of no avail.[1]

Governor Lugo appointed his son, Luis Fernando de Lugo, to be his lieutenant, and Jimenez de Quesada to be justicia-mayor, or the chief judicial officer. Quesada was not an unlettered adventurer, but a trained lawyer, who had practised his profession in the courts of Spain. He was born in Cordova, but his family removed to Granada, where his father, Luis Jemenez de Quesada, was appointed to the office of judge. He wrote an account of his expedi-

[1] Capitulaciôn que se tomó D. Alonso Luis de Lugo en nombre de D. Pero Fernandez de Lugo, Adelantado, de la conquista y poblacion de las tierras de Santa Marta, *Doc. inéd.*, xxii. 406–33.

tion, which he called a *Compendio historial de las conquistas del Nuevo Reino.*[1]

With more than a thousand men in the fleet under his command, Lugo touched at the Canary Islands to complete his equipment, and then passed directly to the port of Santa Marta, where he arrived in the middle of December, 1535. The new settlers, who had been attracted by reports of the colony's wealth, were surprised and disheartened by the spectacle which the town and its inhabitants presented. Ten years after the foundation of Santa Marta, the surrounding lands were almost as completely uncultivated as they were when Bastidas landed there in 1525, and the inhabitants were still very largely dependent on such supplies as the Indians could furnish. The " city of Santa Marta " consisted of a few thatched houses, but not enough to accommodate half of the governor's followers. The conditions under which the men and women of the colony had lived, had wrought their physical ruin. They were lank and feeble, yellow with jaundice, wearing straw sandals, and clothes made of a fabric of the country. The colonists arriving with the governor presented a strong contrast to those already in the town. " They came provided with brilliant arms, caps of velvet with waving plumes, silken clothing, coloured buskins, and gilded spurs, while the members of the cabildo came out to welcome them in the dress of mule-drivers." [2]

The magnificence of the newly-arrived Spaniards was not destined to be long maintained. The town furnished only limited and imperfect quarters, and the majority of Lugo's men were obliged to live in tents. Their bodies

[1] Piedrahita, *Historia general del Nuevo Reino de Granada*, 97–100; Quesada's *Compendio historial* is reported to have existed in the National Library of Bogotá as late as 1848, but was lost a little later among the papers of Antonio Plaza. Some fragments are preserved in the form of quotations in the writings of Plaza and Zamora. His work as a chronicler places him among the more cultivated of the early explorers. Vergara, *Historia de Literatura en Nueva Granada*, 6.

[2] Benedetti, *Historia de Colombia*, 136; Acosta, *Nueva Granada*, 149.

became weakened by inadequate and unsuitable food; their spirits were broken by the sudden destruction of all their expectations; and their total ruin appeared to be imminent in the presence of an epidemic of dysentery. Under these circumstances, the governor determined to undertake a campaign into the interior of the country. This course appeared to be urged by many considerations. It would give the soldiers the needed occupation; it might furnish the governor the gold with which to meet certain unliquidated expenses of the fleet; and a change from the conditions of living in and about Santa Marta was imperatively demanded, in order to prevent the whole force from succumbing to the ravages of disease.

The governor began the march into the wilderness with nearly a thousand men. After the first hostile encounter with the Indians, Lugo returned to Santa Marta with the wounded, and ordered his son, Luis de Lugo, to continue the expedition. The troops suffered from attacks by the natives, and it became more and more difficult to provide the food required for the large body of men; and to avoid this inconvenience the force was divided into two parts, and each proceeded by a separate route. When, finally, they turned back to Santa Marta, Luis de Lugo went in advance with the gold that had been collected, and, instead of turning it over to the governor to be distributed, secretly embarked for Spain with the whole amount. This left the governor in a position of great embarrassment, and, in order that some part of the loss might be recovered, a vessel was sent in pursuit. An officer departed with this vessel, taking with him a statement by the governor to the king, and all of the documents that might be necessary in a case against the fugitive. But the governor's petition to the king for the punishment of his son was without important results; for, although Luis de Lugo was imprisoned, he was able later to justify himself, or at least to move his judges to release him.

II

By a proper cultivation of the soil the colony might have been free from want, but the work required for this purpose the Spaniards were in general unwilling to perform; and the Indians were not sufficiently subdued to be useful labourers. For the members of the colony there were apparently only two careers that were acceptable: either an idle existence in the town, or the strenuous life of the exploring expedition. In the inactivity of the town they became the victims of disease; in the campaign in the wilderness they were cut off by accidents, by exposure, by over-exertion, and starvation. From life in the town there was no valuable product, but the booty derived from exploits among the natives seemed to constitute a balance in favour of this alternative. In view of the spread of disease and the extensive mortality at Santa Marta, it was decided in a conference between Governor Lugo and his captains to lead off a considerable body of men upon a new exploring expedition. Respect for the territorial rights of Cartagena on the west, and for those of Venezuela on the east, left the explorers no choice but to proceed directly southward up the valley of the Magdalena River. They constructed a number of boats for conveying the equipment and supplies and such members of the company as might be taken ill or become in any other manner unable to keep their places in the ranks. But each soldier carried a small amount of clothing and food on his back. For the chief of the expedition the governor selected Gonzalo Jimenez de Quesada, who thus passed from the position of chief judicial officer to be the military leader of an expedition that was destined to encounter extraordinary difficulties.

After marching several days, Quesada sent forward a small party to the Magdalena River to receive the boats;

but of the six boats that left Santa Marta only two arrived. Of the others, two were lost off the coast, attempting to enter the river, and two were driven into the bay of Cartagena, where the crews deserted and departed for Peru. By the efforts of Manjarres, one of the captains, who returned to Santa Marta, three boats were fitted out to take the place of those that had been lost. They entered the Magdalena River, and joined the two that had preceded them at Malambo. The five boats then ascended the river, and were received by Quesada at Sampollon. During the march up the right bank of the river the soldiers on the land encountered very grave obstacles. It was necessary to cut a way through the forest and the thickets of the jungle; and the men in the boats were continually harassed by the poisoned arrows of the Indians, who, in their canoes, swarmed about the boats of the Spaniards. Many of Quesada's men had fallen ill, and a hundred of them died during the first few weeks of the march. Having lost many of their personal effects, some of which were in the boats that were wrecked off the mouth of the river, the soldiers suffered great discomfort, and the rapid disappearance of their comrades depressed and discouraged the survivors.[1]

As they ascended the river the native inhabitants became less numerous; there were fewer cultivated fields, and, consequently, a smaller stock of provisions from which to draw. The men who went in advance to open a way through the forest often required eight days to clear a distance that could be traversed in a single day. Throughout the journey they were afflicted by a plague of ants, wasps, mosquitoes, and various other insects and reptiles, and the unceasing tropical rain gave a finishing touch to their misery. In want of other food, the soldiers began secretly to kill their horses, and distribute the flesh among their comrades. Thinking it impossible to effect the conquest he had in mind without horses, Quesada ordered

[1] Piedrahita, 102; Markham, *The Conquest of New Granada*, 119.

that all dead horses should be immediately thrown into the river, hoping by this method to prevent their destruction for food. At a camp on the river known as Tora, in spite of the most strenuous efforts to procure supplies, many of the men died of starvation; in fact, so many perished here that the survivors were unable to bury them, and their bodies were thrown into the river. Some, in a half-demented state, wandered off to die alone in the forest.[1]

They had been now eight months on the march; half of the original six hundred members of the expedition had perished; and the bravest and most vigorous captains, thinking it unwise to continue the journey, counselled a return to Santa Marta. This was the critical point not only in the career of Quesada, but also in the campaign under his command. His reply to the delegation which communicated to him the views of his followers was decisive, and with no sign of vacillation. He told them that the way back, and not the way forward, led to perdition; that, as the boats would not contain the whole company, those who were left behind would perish. In certain articles discovered among the Indians, there was evidence of a civilisation more advanced than any that had appeared in the region they had traversed. It was, therefore, clear that this civilisation lay before them, and not behind them. He had ventured all his property in preparations to discover the creators and bearers of this civilisation, and he had no intention to abandon his undertaking while he lived. His firmness, his clear vision, and his unflinching courage swept away the doubts from many minds, and, although a novice in military command, his companions, many of them experienced soldiers, bowed to his decision. Isolated in the wilderness, and practically a law unto themselves, they might have deposed him and put a partisan of their opinion in his place. But here, and throughout all the vicissitudes of a journey that severely tested the

[1] Piedrahita, 122.

qualities of men, Quesada's superior authority was never shaken.[1]

Passing into the river Opón, Quesada soon found that the water was too shallow for his boats, and he was obliged either to leave the sick there, or send them back to Santa Marta. He chose the latter course, and charged Gallegos to conduct them down the river. Of the one hundred and sixty men who started on this return voyage, only the leader reached Santa Marta. All the others perished, either by disease or at the hands of the Indians.

After the departure of Gallegos, Quesada, with two hundred men, entered upon the last stage of his march. The ascent of the mountains which lay before him presented difficulties not hitherto encountered, but, at the same time, it offered certain compensating advantages. As the troops reached the higher regions, they found a climate quite unlike that under which they had suffered in the valley. They lost their appearance of pale and weak invalids, colour came back to their faces, strength was restored to their arms, and they became animated by the spirit of sound and sane men.[2]

Between thirty and forty persons had been lost in the mountains, and only one hundred and sixty-six answered the roll-call at the end of the journey. These surviving members of the great expedition had before them evidences of civilisation in villages, cultivated fields, and well-travelled roads, instead of the swamps, thickets, and forests of the low lands. Of the sixty horses with which they left the lowlands fifty-nine reached the plateau.[3]

[1] Piedrahita, 105.
[2] Groot, i. 36.
[3] Piedrahita, 123–43.

In his *Conquest of New Granada*, Sir Clements Markham has presented a vivid sketch of the state of affairs on the tableland at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards: "The fields, with their growing crops, stretched for leagues around the Zipa's capital. The villagers were all at work, happy and contented. The lofty houses of the Usaques, scattered here and there, rising out of clumps of trees, enlivened the landscape. Over the mountains trains of laden wayfarers might be seen passing to and fro, frequenters of the distant markets.

III

The conquest which Quesada was now prepared to undertake was destined to be the third effective blow aimed at the higher forms of native civilisation in America. The Aztecs in Mexico had been overthrown by Cortez in 1519; and Pizarro had destroyed the Inca empire in 1532. There still remained, in 1536, on the tableland of Bogotá and Tunja, a cultivated people doomed to a destruction quite as complete as that which had overwhelmed the civilisation of Mexico or Peru.

The Chibchas, who now fell under the destroying hand of the Europeans, occupied the territory embraced in the modern provinces of Ubate, Chiquinquirá, Moniquirá, Leyva, Santa Rosa, and Sogomoso, an area of about six thousand square miles, with a population of, approximately, a million and a quarter. The greater part of this region was made up of the tableland and the mountains, and, by reason of its temperature, had only the products of the colder European countries. Only the products of the lower valleys indicated that the land of the Chibchas lay within the limits of the tropics. Through the persistent labour required for their support, the inhabitants attained a degree of civilisation unknown to the lands where nature was less niggardly.[1]

The Chibchas' worship appears to have been directed to objects of nature, or to nature as comprehensive of the objective universe. They were thus accustomed to make their sacrifices in the open air, and at certain appointed places—as in lakes, at waterfalls, and on high rocks or

From the salt-mines of Nemocon and Zapaquirá, down the Opón River to the market on the Magdalena, there was a ceaseless flow of commerce. Cotton, gold, and tropical fruits came in return, coca and wood for lances came from the eastern forests, while the products of the Chibcha pottery factories and cloth industries went down in exchange" (p. 126).

[1] See Humboldt, *Description du plateau de Bogotá*, in *Melanges de Géologie et de Physique générale* (Paris, 1854), i. 114–49.

cliffs. Offerings were sometimes made to the earth, the vessels or hollow figures used to receive the gifts being buried in the ground, leaving only the top or an aperture in the upper part exposed. The most noteworthy ceremony was the sacrifice at Lake Guatavita. Every year, while the cacique of Guatavita was independent, he covered himself with turpentine, and spread gold dust over his body, thus making it resplendent in its fresh gilding. Then, surrounded by priests, he caused himself to be floated on a raft to a point indicated as the middle of the lake. During his passage to this spot, a multitude of his subjects, gathered on the shores of the lake, which rose like the seats of an amphitheatre, joined in the ceremony with music and songs. Having arrived at the prescribed point, the cacique offered sacrifice by dropping gold, emeralds, and other precious objects into the lake, and afterwards plunged into the water, offering up the gilding of his body to nature, whence it came, while the surrounding mountains echoed the applause of the people.[1]

Besides the worship offered in the midst of objects of terrestrial nature, the Chibchas had also temples in which certain religious ceremonies were performed, particularly those connected with the worship of the sun, which, according to Sir Clements Markham, was "the real business religion of the Chibcha people."[2] The most important of the Chibcha temples was that at Sogamoso, near Tunja. "The priests, called *Jeques*, had dwellings near the temples, and they had schools into which those destined for the priesthood entered very young, for a long and careful training was essential. It was most important that the neophytes should thoroughly understand the

[1] "Die Chibchas verehrten Naturgegenstände, besonders Seeen, Wasserfälle, Berge, Grotten, namentlich bildeten die in Bergkesseln verborgenen Lagunen vielbesuchte kulturstatten, denn sie besassen einen offentlichen Kultus und eine abgeachlossene erbliche Priesterkaste." Regel, Fritz, *Kolumbien* (Berlin, 1900), 137. On the sacrifices in the lake, see Ternaux-Campans, *Essai sur l'ancien Cundinamarca*, 47–50.

[2] *The Conquest of New Granada*, 27.

principles of the Chibcha calendar, which was rather complicated, and the religious system which was, in great part, based upon it."[1] The sun was the only deity to which human sacrifice was offered. But at the time of the Spanish conquest, the Chibchas were disposed to accept substitutes for the human victim.[2]

The Chibcha country, at the time of Quesada's arrival, was governed by chiefs who appeared to be independent of one another. The southern part of this country, the district about Bogotá, was controlled by a chief called the Zipa, whose capital was Muequeta; while a chief called the Zaque ruled the district about the town of Tunja, which was his capital. These two chiefs were assisted by subordinate provincial chiefs, called Usaques. Another important officer was the high priest of the temple at Sogamoso, called Iraca, who represented the whole nation, and was elected by four chiefs alternately from among the inhabitants of the two districts.[3]

This apparent division of the Chibcha people was probably only a temporary state of things; for there were other chiefs who had been independent, but who had fallen under the domination of more successful leaders, and Acosta ventures the remark that, but for the arrival of the Spaniards, the Zipa who ruled in the district of Bogotá would have become the master of the whole territory of the Chibchas.[4]

The government of the Zipa was absolute, or despotic, and his power descended not to his son, but to the eldest

[1] Markham, *The Conquest of New Granada*, 27.

[2] *Ibid.*, 28. It is not the purpose of the present writing to render an extensive account of the Chibchas, but much information concerning their history and institutions may be found in the following works: Zerda, *El Dorado, estudio historico, etnografico y arqueológico de los Chibchas* (Bogotá, 1883); Ortega, *Historia general de los Chibchas* (Bogotá, 1891); Restrepo, *Los Chibchas antes de la conquista española* (Bogotá, 1895). See also Oviedo, Simon, Castellanos, Piedrahita, Zamora, and Rodriguez Fresle.

[3] Markham, *The Conquest of New Granada*, 40.

[4] *Nueva Granada*, 189.

son of his sister. For his district he was law-maker, judge, and military commander. The laws and customs, which he promulgated or recognised, permitted great laxity with respect to certain acts, while they imposed horrible penalties for others, and this fact indicates the degree of cultivation attained by the Chibchas; for as a people advances towards enlightenment, it ceases to go to these extremes. The chief maintained a large number of concubines, but custom recognised only one woman as his wife. Members of other classes were subject to a similar rule. Men who showed themselves to be cowards in war were condemned to wear the dress of women, and occupy themselves for a specified time with women's work.

The Chibchas had no animals for use in their agricultural work; and, having no iron, their implements were made of wood or stone. Their geographical position was fortunate, in that they could command without great difficulty the products of three zones. On the highlands they cultivated potatoes and maize; from the lowlands and deep valleys they might obtain whatever was produced in the tropics; and from the middle region, products peculiar to the temperate zone.

A severe burden is sometimes imposed upon semi-civilised peoples by the necessity of carrying salt from the ocean to their centres of population in the interior. The Chibchas were able to avoid this by availing themselves of the salt derived from the salt springs of Zipaquirá and Nemocon; and the salt here produced served not only for their domestic use, but was also their most important article of exchange, with which they obtained gold and other commodities wanting in their territory. The progress which they had made in industry is indicated by their skill in spinning and weaving cotton, in using gold for forming figures of animals, in making various kinds of ornaments for their persons, and in carving and engraving fine stones. Besides using gold in their arts, they em-

ployed it also as money, which consisted of disks cast in moulds.

At various places the Chibchas held fairs for the promotion of trade between their different provinces, and with the inhabitants of the lowlands, or *paises calientes*. They exchanged at these fairs whatever products were available, such as salt, gold, emeralds, cloth, and jewels of various kinds. Among other things they obtained macaws and parrots, which were brought up from the lowlands; and as soon as these birds had learned a few words, they employed them in sacrifices, as the most fitting substitutes for their ancient human victims.

IV

Quesada, having given his soldiers several days of rest from the exertion of the ascent, passed on towards the south, through Moniquirá, Susa, and Tinjoca. He arrived at Guachetá (San Gregorio) on March 12, 1537. On entering the territory of the Chibchas, he recognised the weakness of his troop of one hundred and sixty-six men in comparison with the force that might be raised against him from a population of a million or more. He therefore counselled his followers to be especially careful to maintain friendly relations with the natives; for, if they were provoked by ill-treatment to a general uprising, they might easily make it impossible for any Spaniard to escape alive. The effect of this policy was seen at Lenguasaque, where the inhabitants received the Spaniards at the doors of their houses, and offered them whatever they possessed. Quesada determined that no one should depart from this policy with impunity. A Spanish soldier who had taken blankets from Indians by force was condemned to death and executed. This extreme severity was not approved by the captains and the priests; for while more thoroughly civilised persons might have been convinced by it that the

Spaniards were impartial and just, it only led the Indians to see that the Spaniards were subject to death like other persons, and were not the immortal children of the sun.[1]

It is not clear that this notion had any influence on the Indians; still, when the Spaniards were near Nemocón, they were attacked by a large body of the natives. At this time the soldiers were moving in two divisions. The division attacked was composed of the sick, who were escorted by a troop of cavalry. This part of the force was some distance behind the rest when the attack was made; but a part of the advanced guard was immediately sent back to reinforce the rear division. The conflict was then speedily ended by the complete overthrow of the natives, who were routed with great loss, and who threw away in their flight their arms, and even the mummy of their ancient leader, which they had been accustomed to carry into battle. This was not a victory of arms merely; the Indians were more or less cowed by their superstitious fear of the Spaniards. While, therefore, as Quesada proceeded, some of the inhabitants, incited by their chiefs, assumed a hostile attitude, others brought venison and other kinds of food, and various other gifts; and to those who appeared to be friendly the Spaniards distributed their few remaining articles of Spanish origin, which had been brought as diplomatic peace-offerings.

When Quesada arrived at Muequetá he found that the chief and many of the inhabitants had fled, and that they had not left the abundant booty which he had expected to obtain. From this point he sent out small scouting-parties to get information concerning the surrounding country. One went towards the south under Captain Céspedes, and one towards the west under Captain San Martin. San Martin descended the western slope of

[1] A list of the men who entered the territory of the Chibchas with Gonzalo Jimenez de Quesada is found in Joaquin Acosta's *Compendio historico del Descubrimiento y Colonización de la Nueva Granada en el siglo décimo sexto*, 420–8.

the Andes, but soon returned because his small force was not able to defend itself against the Indians he encountered. Taking advantage of the knowledge gained by the exploring parties, Quesada proceeded southward to Tunja, where he imprisoned the chief, and obtained gold, silver, and emeralds worth about half a million dollars. He wished to increase the amount of this booty by causing Quimuinchateca, the chief, to be ransomed, but with respect to all propositions concerning this subject, the chief maintained a dignified silence.[1]

From Tunja the Spaniards set out in September 1537 in quest of the riches which they had heard were to be found in the temple of Sogamoso. Before they reached the residence of the chief, Tundama, they received a message from him and a small present of gold. The message informed the Spaniards that the cacique was gathering up the available gold, and that he would send eight loads of it immediately, and come in person to present it to them. The Spaniards waited a day for the promised treasure, and during this time the cacique collected it and carried it away to a place in the high mountains, where it would be impossible for the invaders to get it.

Failing at this point, the Spaniards undertook an expedition to the valley where stood the famous temple of Sogamoso, the treasures of which had excited the cupidity of Quesada and his associates. The Indians attempted to resist the advance of the Spaniards, but on the level floor of the valley the horses could be used with great advantage, and the charge of the cavalry filled the natives with a new terror, and scattered them in hopeless defeat. The soldiers were naturally eager to take possession of the gold and emeralds with which the temple was adorned. They entered at night with torches, when the feather-grass decorations caught fire, and the whole structure was consumed. In traditions concerning Sogamoso we have much exaggeration; but in the exaggeration itself

[1] Piedrahita, lib. v. caps. i.–iii.

there is an intimation and certain evidence of the wealth and importance of the temple which was thus unfortunately destroyed. Its columns of wood were so great that four men with arms extended could not reach around one of them, and the chroniclers were especially impressed with the labour and the time which must have been required to bring them from the forests at the foot of the cordillera. They, moreover, solemnly reported that the mass of material in the structure was so great that the fire continued to burn in the ruins for six years.[1]

The day after the destruction of the temple, Quesada and his followers returned to Tunja, and joined the soldiers who had been left there to guard the booty. Shortly after his arrival, Quesada liberated the chief whom he had imprisoned, and undertook a punitive expedition, as it was called, against Tundama for the offence of having sought to prevent the invaders from carrying off his property. Then followed an expedition into the rich valley of Neyva; but so much suffering and so little success attended this undertaking that the Spaniards called this region the valley of sadness. The hostile attitude of the Indians, added to the other inconveniences, persuaded them to leave the hot country and return to the tableland, or the *planicie*, of Bogotá. Before undertaking any other campaigns, they proceeded to distribute the treasure which they had already accumulated in the land of the Chibchas. The king's fifth amounted to forty thousand dollars of fine gold, three hundred and sixty-two emeralds, and, besides, a certain amount of unrefined gold. For the purposes of distribution the whole remaining sum was divided into portions, each of which was equivalent to five hundred pesos, and of these the foot-soldiers received one, the cavalrymen two, the officers four, Quesada seven, and nine were set apart for Governor Lugo. This last amount Quesada took for

[1] Simon, *Las Conquistas de Tierra Firme*, ii. 195–8; Groot, *Historia de Nueva Granada*, i. 54, 55; Piedrahita, lib. v. cap. v.; Vergara, *Hist. de la lit. en Nueva Granada*, 13.

himself when he learned that Lugo was dead. To suppose that this amount, which was publicly distributed, comprised all the treasure that was collected is to presume a somewhat astonishing degree of honesty in those who seemed to have no scruples about taking any valuable thing wherever they could find it. Moreover, the amounts disposed of later, particularly by Quesada after his return to Europe, would indicate that in the process of collecting the gold during the various pillaging enterprises, the officers and men had withheld not a little of it from the general store for their personal use.[1]

The inhabitants of the region about the site of the present city of Bogotá were not disposed to submit to the Spaniards. The chief, Thisquesaza, whose camp was near Facatativá, directed the attack against them, although he did not appear in person as the leader. Quesada finally found it necessary to accept the challenge involved in Thisquesaza's attitude, and determined to take him by surprise. Therefore, having marched all night, he fell upon him early in the morning, destroyed or scattered all his forces, while the chief fled and perished during his flight. The Spaniards discovered only a small amount of gold, but an abundance of food and a large supply of material for clothing. After this defeat the Chibchas thought it advisable to abandon their unfriendly attitude, and even sought an alliance with the victors, when they saw themselves hard pressed by the Panches. Through this alliance the Panches were overthrown in an encounter which was known as the battle of Tocarema, and by this severe blow to their fortunes they were persuaded to seek the goodwill

[1] Piedrahita, lib. v. cap. v.–vi. Ternaux-Compans, *Essai sur l'ancien Cundinamarca*, 95, affirms that the part set aside as the king's fifth amounted to 46,000 *castillanos de oro* and 360 emeralds, and that an equal sum was then set apart to be distributed by three arbitrators to those persons who had especially distinguished themselves. He finds, moreover, that in addition to the 512 *castillanos de oro fino*, the ordinary soldier received "100 *castillans d'or de bas aloi*" and five emeralds, while twice these amounts were allotted to the mounted men.

of the foreigners. They therefore sent messengers to them with presents of fruit and gold, and, under Quesada's direction, consented to submit to the Chibcha chief.

The removal of all effective opposition left Quesada and his associates only the task of collecting the treasure which the chief, or zipa, was reported to possess. The first difficulty encountered was that of discovering where it was hidden; and, in order that the zipa, Sagipa, might be induced to make known the place of concealment, he was arrested and imprisoned. The Spaniards, moreover, fancied they might receive a ransom like that which Atahualpa had offered to Pizarro, and they were therefore not in a mood to accept the statement of Sagipa when he protested that the treasure which they expected did not exist. When he affirmed that the zipa had distributed this treasure among his vassals on the arrival of the Spaniards, and that the vassals would doubtless bring it together and offer it to ransom him, the Spaniards believed that the prize was about to fall into their hands. Rumours indicated that gold was brought from day to day to be offered for the release of the chief, but those persons who expected to receive it had no knowledge that justified these rumours. Sagipa explained this state of things by suggesting that two subordinate chiefs, who were his enemies, and who had denounced him as a usurper, had probably prevailed on his vassals to deliver it to them. The two persons thus accused were immediately beheaded; still the gold was not forthcoming, and the ill-fated zipa was subjected to outrageous tortures, in order that he might be induced to reveal the secret which it was supposed would give the Spaniards access to the desired treasures. He suffered the agony of these tortures for weeks, but finally succumbed to them without allowing a single word to escape from his lips.[1]

[1] Herrera's account of this event is as follows: "Pasado el término y no hibiendo dado mas de cuatro mil pesos, los soldados insolentes y codiciosos por la fama de los grandes tesoros del Bogotá, hicieron requerimiento á Gonzalo Ximenes para que pusiese en hierros á Sagipa,

After several other more or less unimportant campaigns against the Indians, Quesada finally made use of some of the friendly natives, and ordered a number of houses to be built on a site selected on the plain of Bogotá. The Spaniards occupied the place, and gave it the name of Santa Fé, while the conquered country was called the New Kingdom of Granada.[1]

Having thus made the beginnings of a new town, Quesada prepared to return to Spain for the purpose of soliciting the governorship of the colony, and of obtaining supplies.[2]

V

Before Quesada's departure, he learned of the presence of Benalcázar and Federmann in that region; and a little later the three leaders were assembled at Santa Fé, each with a company of about one hundred and sixty men. Quesada experienced a degree of anxiety concerning the coming of these two explorers, lest, with their united forces superior to his following, they should attempt to deprive him of the advantages of his discovery. But in

y le diese tormento, y porque no lo hacia entendiendo ser injusto, las murmuraciones y quejas de los soldados eran grandes, diciendo, que se entendia con Sagipa, y de nuevo volvieron á los requerimientos y protestas y dieron poder á Gerónimo de Ansá para que pusiese demanda en juicio, y Gonzalo Ximenes nombró por defensor de Sagipa á su hermano Hernan Perez de Quesada, con juramento de que haria bien su oficio; y oidas las partes, se llegó al tormento y allí bárbaramente le mataron sin que descubriese nada."—*Dec.* VI. lib. vi. An account of these events is given by Padre Simon, *Las conquistas de Tierra Firme*, ii. 211–23.

[1] Different dates in the year 1538 are given for the foundation of Bogotá. Mass was celebrated for the first time in the new church on the 6th of August, and this date is sometimes regarded as that of the foundation of the town (Joaquin Acosta, *Nueva Granada*, 243). Vergara y Velasco holds to the earlier date of July 20 (*Capitulos de una historia civil y militar de Colombia*, 6–16). For a general view of the country occupied by Quesada, see *Memoria descriptiva del pais de Santa Fé de Bogotá*, by José Maria Salazar, in Caldas, *Semanario de la Nueva Granada*, 385–410; Regel, Dr. Fritz, *Kolumbien* (Berlin, 1900), 44, 61, 245.

[2] Piedrahita, lib. vi. cap. 4.

the negotiations undertaken to adjust their affairs, Benalcázar, who had advanced northward along the left bank of the Magdalena River, after he had taken Quito, requested only recognition of his governorship of Popayán; while Federmann, who had proceeded from the coast of Venezuela, by a three years' journey in the wilderness, asked ten thousand dollars for himself, and, for his men, the enjoyment of the rights of conquistadores, together with the privilege of joining the ranks of Quesada's company. These requests were granted, and thus whatever advantages accrued to Quesada's men were to be shared by those who were added to their number from the followers of Federmann. The latter were to be free to remain in the country after the decision of the court respecting the governorship, or to return to Venezuela. The agreement establishing these provisions was dated March 17, 1539. A second agreement between Quesada and Federmann was formed somewhat more than a month later, on April 29. In the negotiations leading to this agreement, Federmann showed himself less easily satisfied than earlier. He demanded further personal advantages. The leaders should make the journey to the court together. Quesada should cede to Federmann the district of Tunja, and grant to him and to the two servants who were to accompany him to Spain a certain participation in the distribution of the booty. During these negotiations two small vessels were built on the Magdalena River at Guataqui. In these, Quesada, Federmann, and Benalcázar, with a few followers, proceeded down the river to the coast, and at Cartagena chartered a vessel for the voyage to Spain. In accordance with the agreement, Fernan Perez de Quesada, a brother of Jimenez de Quesada, was left at Bogotá as the deputy of the discoverer and head of the colony.[1]

[1] Piedrahita, lib. vi. cap. v. The history of Quesada's journey and the exploration of the region of Bogotá is given in a very elaborate form in Simon, *Las Conquistas de Tierra Firme*, ii. 67–265. An account somewhat less extensive is found in Groot, *Historia de Nueva Granada*, i. 30–73. Rodriguez Fresle, *Conquista y Descubrimiento del Nuevo*

Each of the three leaders who met on the plateau of Bogotá, and who went together to Spain, wished to be appointed governor of the newly-discovered province. When, however, Benalcázar found that he might be appointed governor of Popayan, he limited his pretension to this position. Quesada and Federmann remained as rival candidates, but Federmann's prospects ceased very early to be hopeful. Serious charges were made against him on account of his avarice and cruelty, and when he found that he had no hope of support from the Spaniards, he turned to the emperor, who was at that time in Flanders. Here his prospects depended especially on Bartholomäus Welser, who was then at the court. The representative of the Welser company, moved by the numerous charges that had been brought against him, and by the conviction that he had retained funds, or spoils of the expedition, which belonged to the company, finally caused his arrest and imprisonment. This event was followed by a controversy as to the jurisdiction of the Flemish court

Reino de Granada (Bogotá, 1890), 25–32, gives a list of the soldiers who accompanied the three leaders. See also Haebler, *Ueberseeische Unternehmungen der Welser*, 257–61; Piedrahita, 97–107; and Markham, *The Conquest of New Granada*, 110–44.

The book written by Rodriguez Fresle is sometimes referred to as *El Carnero*. The author was born in Bogotá, April 25, 1566. He was for a period in the service of Alonso Pérez de Salazar, one of the judges of the audiencia of his native city, and he accompanied him to Spain when Salazar was promoted to be fiscal of the Council of the Indies.

His patron died, however, six months after his appointment, and Rodriguez Fresle was left, as he said, *como hijo de oidor muerto*. He was left in poverty, and remained six years in Spain. After his return to New Granada, he was engaged in agriculture; but we have very little information concerning the later years of his life, and the time of his death is unknown. Vergara says: "The useful occupation of his old age was that of writing his chronicle, which he began on the day on which he completed his seventieth year." His book became widely known through many manuscript copies, and it was not printed until more than two centuries after it was written. Vergara also refers to the author's style as "*natural y correcto, animadisimo á las veces*: no writer of his time excelled him in the local flavour which he knew how to give to his lively narrative" (Vergara, *Historia de la literatura en Nueva Granada*, 82–91).

in the case, and the final removal of the prisoner to Spain. Here, in the course of his defence, Federmann uttered certain charges against the members of the Welser company, but, before the case was concluded, he died in February 1542. After his death, his statement was published, in which he had affirmed that the charges made by him were false, and were uttered as an act of revenge.

Although Benalcázar and Federmann were out of the contest for the governorship of the newly-discovered province of New Granada, there were others whose pretensions were not withdrawn. The prize fell to Luis de Lugo, a son of the former governor of Santa Marta, and under him the territory of Santa Marta and the province of New Granada were united. Bogotá, favoured by its climate, outgrew Santa Marta, and in course of time became the seat of the chief civil and ecclesiastical power in this part of the continent.

CHAPTER IX

EXPLORATION AND SETTLEMENT IN THE INTERIOR OF NEW GRANADA

I. Vadillo's expedition to the Cauca valley. II. Andagoya's governorship and Robledo's explorations. III. The founding of Timaná. IV. Perez de Quesada's search for El Dorado. V. Luis de Lugo governor. VI. Benalcázar, Heredia, Armendariz, and the audiencia of Bogotá.

I

BESIDES the expeditions which the historian is justified in emphasizing because of their permanent results, there are many others, the record of which properly occupies only an inconspicuous place in history. To the latter class belongs the expedition which left San Sebastian de Urabá a short time before the end of 1537, or in the early part of 1538, under the direction of Juan de Vadillo, with Francisco César as lieutenant. Vadillo was a member of the audiencia of Santo Domingo, and his conduct as visitador was not less scandalous than that of Governor Heredia, whom he had been authorised to bring to trial. In the meantime the Licentiate Santa Cruz was appointed to fill the vacancy in the governorship of Cartagena caused by the removal of Heredia, and he was commissioned at the same time to hold the residencia of Juan de Vadillo. But before the arrival of Santa Cruz, Vadillo had departed from San Sebastian for the Cauca valley. The members of this expedition had the usual experience of members of exploring companies in the sixteenth century. There was lack of food; disease carried off many persons; and the hostility of the Indians was a continual annoyance

and danger. At Cori, in the valley of the Cauca, the expedition lost by the death of Francisco César its most noteworthy member, who, as Acosta says, "only wanted another field and better fortune in order to have become one of the most illustrious conquistadores." [1]

This loss plunged the camp into profound grief and anxiety; the soldiers asked to be led back to the coast; and Vadillo found himself obliged to face two disagreeable alternatives. If he turned back he would be compelled to undergo again the hardships through which they had passed, with only the prospect of a trial and imprisonment on arriving at Cartagena. Before him lay a region which had already been overrun and pillaged by the Spaniards, and which, consequently, offered nothing to satisfy the cupidity of his soldiers. The troops of Benalcázar had descended the valley as far as the Rio de la Vieja, and where they had been there was nothing left for a subsequent spoiler.

Vadillo's expedition reached Cali somewhat more than a year after its departure from San Sebastian. About half of the men had perished; and now, when he wished to take possession of the country he had explored, the survivors abandoned him. The small amount of treasure which they had collected and were prepared to distribute was not to be found; and it was thought that Vadillo had concealed it, but the real thief was discovered later. Under suspicion, deserted by his soldiers, and with much ground for bewailing his fortune, he proceeded alone to Popayán. From Popayán he passed to Panama, where he was arrested, taken to Cartagena, and subsequently to Spain. He died in poverty in Seville before the trial of the case against him was concluded. The soldiers of Vadillo remained in the Cauca valley, where they found colonies already established by Aldana and Robledo. Robledo made an excursion towards the west, but it had no favourable result on account of the hostility of the Indians.

[1] *Nueva Granada*, 257.

Having returned to the valley of the Cauca, he founded the town of Cartago in 1540.[1]

Pedro Cieza de Leon, who was a member of the colony settled at Cartago, has left an account of certain details relating to the native inhabitants of the region where the town was established. They cultivated the soil, raising maize, yuca, and other food plants, as well as various kinds of fruit. But they were still cannibals, and in some of their villages they had cages constructed of bamboo in which they kept and fattened their prisoners who were destined to be eaten. They had great wooden idols, with faces turned towards the east, before which they made human sacrifices. They had gold, extracted salt from the water of salt springs, and used it in trading with their neighbours. These and other characteristics of the natives of this part of the valley reveal a strange mixture of the features of civilisation and savagism.[2]

In this period, 1538–41, several other towns were established in the central and western part of the country. Villaviciosa, or San Juan de Pasto, was founded in the valley of Yacuanquér, but somewhat later it was transferred to the valley of Thris. Anserma and Santa Cruz de Mompox were also established in these years.[3]

II

At this point a new character appears on the scene in the person of Andagoya. He was born in the province of Alava, and arrived at Darien with Pedrarias near the end of July 1514, enjoying whatever prestige belonged to him as the son of an hidalgo. After the death of Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, he went to Panama with Governor Pedrarias,

[1] Piedrahita, lib. iv. cap. ii.

[2] Pedro Cieza de Leon, *Crónica del Perú*, cap. viii., ix., xxiv.; Acosta, *Nueva Granada*, 264.

[3] Details concerning the founding of these towns may be found in Cieza de Leon, *Crónica del Perú*, cap. xiv., xv., xvi., xxxiii.

and received a repartimiento of Indians. He became a regidor of Panama, participated in various expeditions, and in 1522 was made inspector-general of the Indians on the Isthmus. Through later expeditions, in which he held the chief command, he obtained definite information concerning Peru; and to this information, he affirmed, was due the discovery of that country. In 1529 his wife died, and he was banished to Santo Domingo. Here he married again, and afterwards returned to Panama, where he was appointed lieutenant to the new governor, Francisco de Barrionuevo. At the close of his service he underwent a severe trial of residencia, and was sent to Spain. He was, however, acquitted there, and rewarded with the governorship of New Castile. He embarked for his new post in 1539, taking with him sixty men, and providing for later reinforcements. His territory extended on the coast from the Gulf of San Miguel to the river San Juan, but no limit was fixed for the interior, and here he came into conflict with Benalcázar.[1]

In the absence of Benalcázar, Andagoya advanced into the interior as far as the town of Cali, which he affirmed lay within the limits of his jurisdiction. Robledo, who was exploring the region farther towards the north, was willing to have both Cali and Popayan accept the pretensions of Andagoya; and this position appears to have been assumed and supported by the opinion that it would be less difficult, when the proper time should arrive, for him to overthrow the rule of Andagoya than the more firmly-established authority of Benalcázar, who was returning from Spain, where he had received from the court the title of Adelantado and Governor of Popayan.

On his arrival, Benalcázar scorned the pretensions of Andagoya, treated him as an usurper, and caused him to be arrested and taken to Popayan. With the consent of

[1] Andagoya, Pascual de, *Narrative of the Proceedings of Pedrarias Davila in the Provinces of Tierra Firme*, translated by C. R. Markham (London, 1865: Hakluyt Society), Markham's Introduction.

Benalcázar, Robledo continued his explorations in the region of the lower course of the Cauca, and finally, towards the end of 1541, founded Antioquia. It was an easy task to lay out the streets and assign the lots to the settlers, but to subdue and distribute the Indians among them was attended with greater difficulty; still both were successfully accomplished. Robledo then departed for Spain for the purpose of persuading the court to divide the territory subject to Benalcázar, and create an independent province. This action having been taken, he hoped to encounter no obstacles in persuading the court to confer upon him the title and authority of governor of the new province, which was designed to embrace the region about Antioquia and farther north to the territory of Cartagena.[1]

III

Another settlement made in Benalcázar's province in 1540 was the town of Timaná. The site chosen for it was the southern end of the Magdalena valley. The founder was Pedro de Añasco. This was an instance where a peaceful and conciliatory policy might have given the settlement great prosperity; for many of the Indians of this part of the valley were not only devoted to the cultivation of the soil, but were also disposed to maintain friendly relations with the Spaniards. But by an act of outrageous cruelty in burning a young man alive in the presence of his mother for a trivial offence, Añasco thought to give all the other natives a warning which would make them at once submissive. The real effect of this was to produce an exasperation, a demand for vengeance, and an uprising against the invaders. Añasco, with a company of twenty men, was overtaken near the settlement, and only three escaped to carry the news of the disaster to

[1] For an account of Robledo's explorations, see the two *relaciones*, in *Doc. inéd.*, ii. 267–356.

Timaná. Añasco was taken alive, and turned over to Gaitana, the mother of the young man who had been murdered. His eyes were plucked out, and, with a rope about his neck, he was passed on from village to village, and made the victim of indignities of all kinds, reaping in a miserable death what he had sown.

While the heroic Gaitana's cry for vengeance was arousing the Indians about Timaná, the Paeces, in the central part of the province, were preparing to make war on the colonists of Popayan. Juan de Ampudia, who in the absence of Benalcázar was the chief in authority, went out to subdue them or bring them to a more peaceful mood; but he was hardly more fortunate than Añasco, his rival in barbarity, for he was killed by the thrust of a spear which pierced his neck. In their attempts to expel the colonists from Timaná, the natives had already been twice defeated. But the cacica, Gaitana, her indignation still unsatisfied, once more called the tribesmen to war. It is reported that ten thousand persons appeared before the little fort. The warriors came with their women and all the appliances for celebrating a great victory. At first they held a strong line unbroken, preventing the horsemen from riding over them, but when the superior arms of the Spaniards began to cut them off by the hundred their courage and confidence of victory wavered; the men refused to stand against the charge of the horses, and confusion and awful slaughter followed. They fell under the strokes of the sabres, were trampled to death by the cavalry, and, when the conflict was over, the bodies of thousands of the dead covered the field.[1]

While Jerónimo Lebron was the acting governor of Santa Marta, he made an expedition to assume authority over the New Kingdom of Grenada. He ascended the

[1] "Esta era la tercera carnicería, y como aquellos indígenas no se desdeñaban de comer la carne de sus hermanos, las casas de los Indios amigos y los patios aparecian cubiertos de tasajos de carne humana secándose al sol" (Acosta, *Nueva Granada*, 273).

Magdalena River, and arrived at Velez near the end of 1540. Here he was received by the municipal authorities as the legitimate governor. Hernan Pérez de Quesada, however, refused to sustain the action of Velez, unless Lebron's pretensions could be shown to rest on royal dispatches appointing him governor of the New Kingdom of Grenada, affirming that the supreme control over the region discovered by Jimenez de Quesada was not involved in the authority of the governor of Santa Marta. Then, in an interview between Lebron and Pérez de Quesada, it was agreed that they should seek the opinion of the cabildos of Santa Fé and Tunja. This proved to be opposed to the pretensions of Lebron, and he was obliged to withdraw satisfied with such gold and emeralds as he could obtain in exchange for his horses, slaves, clothing, arms, and whatever other articles he was able to sell. The majority of his men remained with the colony of the highlands. Only twenty-five returned with him to Santa Marta. He descended the Magdalena River from Guataqui, and, learning at Santa Marta that a new governor was coming from Spain, he returned to Santo Domingo.

IV

Although the Spaniards were victorious, they wished to abandon Timaná. Some of them went to Santa Fé de Bogotá, but, after the return of Benalcázar, they appeared in Popayan. On leaving Bogotá for Spain, Gonzalo Jimenez de Quesada gave his brother, Hernan Pérez de Quesada, authority to govern the colony during his absence. In the beginning of his administration, Hernan Pérez de Quesada commissioned Captain Martin Galiano to found the town of Velez, which became a point of departure for the exploration and conquest of the rich and populous province of Guane, and other parts of the country accessible from the town. On the expeditions undertaken by Captain Galiano, he discovered new evidences of civilisa-

tion in textile fabrics, in pottery, in the cultivation of irrigated fields, and in the manufacture of various kinds of articles for personal adornment. In 1539 was founded also the city of Tunja. The founder was Gonzalo Suarez Rondon, and the first alcaldes were Juan de Píneda and Jorje de Olmedo. Like many others who became conspicuous in the colonisation of South America, Rondon had been a soldier in the Italian wars.[1]

With the cultivation of wheat, which was begun by Captain Jerónimo de Aguayo, and the raising of vegetables from seed brought by the followers of Lebron, the colony was in a position to enter upon a course of independent prosperity. But in an evil hour Pérez de Quesada fell under the spell of the tradition of El Dorado, and was lured into sacrificing funds of the colony, and the time and lives of colonists, in a vain pursuit. In order that he might leave the colony in assured peace, he determined, in cold blood, to murder those who might become leaders of their tribesmen, and possibly enemies of the Europeans, although at the time in question there was no indication of an insurrection. Quemichua, the successor of Queminchatocha, was one of the first victims. Under charges that were known to have no foundation, he was brutally beheaded, and a similar fate overtook the caciques of Samacá, Turmequé, Boyacá, and many other peaceful natives, whose position and intelligence indicated that they might become dangerous enemies, if at any time they should be moved by a hostile disposition.[2]

Quesada started on his expedition with about two hundred men, and his undertaking was only a repetition of the experiences of his predecessors. He returned with less than half of his force, and found that, in spite of his extraordinary precautions, peace had not reigned throughout the land. Gonzalo Suarez Rondon had exercised the powers of a governor during Quesada's absence, but he

[1] Acosta, *Nueva Granada*, 275–82; Piedrahita, 113.

[2] Acosta, *Nueva Granada*, 286; Piedrahita, lib. ix. cap iii.

had not been able to prevent the encomenderos from oppressing their Indian serfs. This led to a revolt, and a more or less serious, though temporary, disturbance of the peace.[1]

V

Of the three leaders of expeditions who went to Spain to solicit the favour of the court, Benalcázar was the most successful. He returned, as already indicated, as adelantado and governor of Popayan. Jimenez de Quesada encountered difficulties. He had not acquired the art of obtaining favours from superiors. Having funds at his disposal, he found it more agreeable to spend his time travelling in Portugal, France, and Italy than waiting in the ante-rooms of those persons who had rewards or gifts to bestow. Moreover, the royal decree appointing Pedro Fernandez de Lugo governor of Santa Marta provided that his son might succeed him. It was not the policy of the court to continue to maintain in this part of South America a number of colonies independent of one another, but to merge them into a single kingdom; and extending the jurisdiction of Luis de Lugo to embrace not only Santa Marta, but also the settlements of Santa Fé, Tunja, and Velez, appeared to be a step towards the realisation of this policy. Under his commission, therefore, Luis de Lugo became the governor of the territory discovered by Quesada.

[1] References to the search for El Dorado may be found in Castellanos, *Elegías de varones ilustres de Indias*, pt. iii. canto ii.; Rodriguez Fresle, *Nuevo Reino de Granada* (Bogotá, 1890), cap. ii.; *El Dorado*, aus den *Mittheilungen der Geog. Gesellschaft in Hamburg* (1889); Piedrahita, *Historia general del nuevo reyno de Granada*, lib. ix. cap. iii.; Bandelier, *The Gilded Man* (New York, 1893); Humboldt, *Personal Narrative* (Bohn ed.), iii. chap. xxv.; Zerda, Liborio, *El Dorado, estudio hist., etnog. y arqueológico* (Bogotá, 1883); Gumilla, *El Orinoco ilustrado* (Madrid, 1745), cap. xxv. sec. 3; Oviedo, *Historia general y natural de las Indias* (Madrid, 1851), iv. lib. xlix. cap. ii.; "The Quest of El Dorado," by J. A. Manso, in *Bulletin of the Pan-American Union* for January, February, March, and April 1912; Gilij, Filippo Salvadore, *Saggio di storia americana* (Roma, 1780–84), i. 135–45, 328.

On his return from Spain he landed near Cape de la Vela, in 1542, and proceeded up the valley of Upar and the Magdalena River to Velez, and later to Tunja and Santa Fé. Having stolen the spoils of an expedition, which belonged to his father and the other members of the expedition, it is possible that he passed by Santa Marta in order to avoid an unpleasant reception by persons whom he had defrauded.[1]

At Velez Luis de Lugo was received as governor of the New Kingdom of Grenada, and here began an administration of affairs that could not well have been more unfortunate. He annulled repartimientos made by Galiano, and countenanced a severe and merciless treatment of the natives. He persuaded the encomenderos of Santa Fé and Tunja to renounce their encomiendas, under his assurance that he would reconvey the encomiendas to them in legitimate form. But the reconveyance was delayed, while he collected the tribute from the Indians for his own advantage. He brought charges against Gonzalo Suarez Rondon, and confiscated his property, which amounted to fifty thousand dollars. In fact, an inordinate desire for wealth furnished the principal motive of his conduct. By observing gold in the hands of the natives he was led to seek the mines from which it was derived; and, by investigations instituted for this purpose, he was drawn into new relations with the Indians, and induced to establish new cities, and to take formal possession of territory which the Spaniards had not hitherto occupied. But the welfare of these cities, or of any part of the colony, interested him less than the accumulation of treasure; and the wealth at his disposal was rapidly increased by confiscation, by tribute received from the natives, and by the spoils of his agents, who plundered every place,

[1] With Luis de Lugo came the first European women to enter Bogotá. There were five of them, one of whom, Isabel Romero, gave to the order the land on which the Augustinian monastery was built (Groot, i. 112).

whether sanctuary or grave, where it was thought gold might be found.

During his reckless pursuit of gold, Lugo was not unmindful of the impression his conduct had made both in Spain and America, and, foreseeing the condemnation that was destined to proceed from an impending residencia, he left Santa Fé near the end of 1544. At Santa Marta he purchased a vessel for his voyage to Spain, and, touching at the port near Cape de la Vela, he was made to restore the value of the pearls he had taken by force when he landed at this port on the way to assume his duties as governor. He released the officials whom he was conducting to Spain as prisoners, and, on arriving in Spain, he was compelled to give up part of the funds he had taken from Gonzalo Suarez Rondon. But he still had sufficient influence to obtain an appointment to the office of colonel, and to secure the command of a force entering upon the war in Italy. A little later he died in Milan. He was hated by practically all who knew him, but he seemed to obtain what he wished in the world, and that almost without an opposing voice. He was a highwayman in official life.

VI

Not long after the return of Benalcázar from Spain, Vaca de Castro arrived, commissioned to improve the condition of Peru's political affairs, and to assume the position and authority of governor in case of Pizarro's death. The assassination of Pizarro found Castro unprepared to execute the king's orders, and he was obliged to form a military force sufficient to make his authority respected, Benalcázar made an early response to his call, and accompanied him to Quito, and later to San Miguel. Here Castro dismissed him, under the pretext that he was needed in Popayan to maintain order among the diverse elements of his extensive province. It is probable that Castro had

other motives less disinterested than this; that he feared the restraint which the presence of a man of superior military capacity would impose upon him; and that he might find his ally disposed to favour the cause of Almagro. At all events, Benalcázar returned to Popayan, a disgusted spectator of affairs in Peru. He visited various parts of his province; vainly attempted to subdue the Paeces, who from their fortified posts defied the authority of the Spaniards; and passed to Antioquia to take account of the conduct of Robledo.

In the meantime a disturbing element had appeared from another quarter. Pedro de Heredia had returned to America, re-established by royal favour in the powers and privileges of governor of Cartagena. He undertook various expeditions into the interior, the most important of which was that to the valley of Atrato, in pursuit of the riches of Dobaiba. This having been unsuccessful, he returned to San Sebastian de Urabá, and thence proceeded to Antioquia. Here he was taken by Captain Juan Cabrera, and sent to Benalcázar, while Cabrera's troops were permitted to rob Heredia's soldiers, taking their arms, clothing, and horses, as if they were savages dealing with an alien enemy, and not civilised men dealing with other civilised men, who, like themselves, were the subjects of the Spanish crown.

With the establishment of the royal audiencia of Panama, Cartagena, Popayan, and Peru were placed under its authority; while Santa Marta and Venezuela remained subject to the audiencia of Santo Domingo. It was, therefore, to their common superior, the audiencia of Panama, that Benalcázar sent Governor Heredia, with the request that that body would prevent him from entering with an armed force upon territory not within the limits of his jurisdiction. Whatever may have been the action of the audiencia with respect to Benalcázar's petition, Heredia, having regained his freedom, prepared for another expedition to Antioquia. While he was forming plans for this

new enterprise, in the beginning of 1544, a company of pirates, led by Robert Baal, landed at midnight and took possession of Cartagena.[1] They had already sacked and burned Santa Marta, and they landed for their new exploit before information of the destruction of that city had been received by Governor Heredia or any of his associates. They robbed the royal treasury of forty-five thousand dollars, and, by the payment of a considerable sum by the governor, they were induced to desist from burning the town. This calamity did not prevent Heredia from carrying out his plan for a second expedition to Antioquia, and having taken that place without resistance, he installed officials appointed by himself. These were, however, soon replaced by others, and the authority of Benalcázar was again recognised. When Heredia returned to Cartagena, he found there Miguel Diaz de Armendáriz, who had been commissioned by the Council of the Indies to conduct the residencia of the governors of the several provinces of New Granada. He came also to proclaim and introduce the New Laws, which met here with an opposition similar to that which they encountered elsewhere. Armendáriz's mission was thus not greatly unlike that of Blasco Nuñez Vela in Peru.[2]

Armendáriz went to Bogotá after he had held the residencia of the governor of Cartagena, and arrived there January 17, 1547. His lieutenant, Pedro de Ursua, Bishop Calatayud, and various residents of Bogotá, who had been persecuted by Governor Lugo, had preceded him. At Bogotá he proclaimed the New Laws; but the cabildos, seeing the losses that would follow their execution, appointed commissioners, and directed them to go to Spain to seek to have these laws repealed, particularly that provision which prevented children and widows from inheriting repartimientos or encomiendas which had been held by a father or a husband. The mission was in so far successful that the petition of the cabildos was granted, and

[1] Piedrahita, lib. x. cap. i.

[2] *Ibid.*, cap. vi. and vii.

at the same time the Council ordered the creation of a royal audiencia in Bogotá. Moreover, on the basis of reports by commissioners and Armendáriz, Jimenez de Quesada was permitted to return to Bogotá with the title of Marshal, and he was made a life member of the municipal council, and given an annual salary or pension of two thousand ducats from the royal treasury.[1]

The establishment of an audiencia at Bogotá fixed definitely the position of that city as the capital of the kingdom of New Granada. The original list of oidores appointed for the proposed audiencia included Gutierrez de Marcado, the president, in addition to Lopez de Garlaza and Beltran de Góngora. The three members left Cartagena for Bogotá, but at Mompox Mercado fell ill and died. The others continued their journey, and arrived at Bogotá near the end of March 1550. Their credentials were presented to the cabildo, and their authority as members of the royal audiencia was recognised, April 7, 1550. The royal seal, on its arrival, was accorded a ceremonious reception. Enclosed in a curiously-wrought box, it was placed on a cushion on a small white horse that was covered with a decorated blanket, and was led by one of the regidores by a rope of crimson velvet; and over it the other regidores carried a rich canopy. On each side of the seal rode one of the oidores, or judges, of the audiencia, accompanied by one of the alcaldes; and thus, attended by a great company of the citizens, they conducted the royal seal to the building where it was designed to deposit it.[2]

[1] Acosta, *Nueva Granada*, 328; Piedrahita, lib. x. cap. vii.

[2] Piedrahita, lib. xi. cap. iv. and v.; Groot, *Historia de Nueva Grenada*, i. 104. For the royal decree concerning the reception and use of the seal, see Simon, *Las conquistas de Tierra Firme*, iii. 91; Acosta, *Nueva Granada*, 331.

CHAPTER X

THE FOUNDATION OF LIMA

I. The municipality of Jauja. II. The search for a site for the capital. III. First acts of the cabildo. IV. The first bishop, Loayza, and other ecclesiastics. V. Later ordinances.

I

DURING Pizarro's march from Cajamarca to Cuzco in 1533, as already indicated, he founded the municipality of Jauja. The original alcaldes were Juan Mogrobejo de Quiñones and Sebastian de Torres. The regidores were García de Salcedo, Alonso de Riquelme, Rodrigo de Mazuelas, Juan de Barrios, Gregorio de Sotello, and Diego Maldonado. In addition to these officials, there was a notary public in the person of Captain Gerônimo de Aliaga. This organisation was maintained in the valley of Jauja until January 1535, when it was transferred to the banks of the Rimac.[1]

In the months of peace which followed the conquest of Cuzco, Pizarro formed certain plans with respect to the

[1] " Subsistió únicamente hasta enero de 1535 en que, trasladándose á orillas del Rimac, dió vida á la *Ciudad de los Reyes del Perú* " (*Libro primero de cabildos de Lima*, Parte Primera (Paris, 1900), 382. García de Salcedo held a royal commission as " Veedor," or " Visitador," and in that capacity was *ex officio* a regidor, as other royal officials might be regidores of the towns in which they resided. This regulation was, however, abolished by a royal decree issued at Madrid, February 2, 1622, which prohibited officials of the royal treasury in the Indies from becoming regidores, even when they might have purchased the office or have obtained it by any means permitted by the existing law (*Leyes de Indias*, lib. viii. tit. iv. ley. liii.). This decree was in confirmation of previous legislation—Philip II, April 3, 1567; Philip III, May 27, 1605, and November 1, 1607—which prohibited officials of the royal establishment from holding any other offices. This legislation did not affect Salcedo, for it did not appear until after his death, which occurred in 1556.

state which he hoped to construct on the ruins of the Inca kingdom. It seemed to him desirable that the capital should be near the sea, where it would be easily accessible to persons arriving from Spain, and where the inhabitants might find the fewest possible difficulties in the way of receiving European wares and European ideas. Both Jauja and Cuzco, lying east of the main ridge of the Andes, were too far away from the ports, and neither was suited to be the capital of the new kingdom. Pizarro, therefore, offered the suggestion that those inhabitants of Jauja who held repartimientos of Indians near the coast should live in that region, while those who held Indians of the sierra should continue to live in the highland town. The members of the cabildo of Jauja had this suggestion under consideration at their meeting, November 29, 1534, and reached the conclusion that the principal city ought to be near the coast; but that, instead of dividing the population of Jauja into two parts, it would be well to transfer the whole body to a site to be selected near the sea.

This decision having been formed by the members of the cabildo, the question was referred to a number of the leading inhabitants of the town, who were requested to write and sign their opinions. The views of the persons consulted agreed essentially with the decision of the cabildo, and were in favour of creating one important town, instead of establishing two small towns, that would probably be able to maintain only a struggling and insecure existence. The considerations that moved the members of the cabildo are set forth in the statement of their decision. They found the region too cold, with too much snow; there was a lack of wood; the distance from the sea was too great; and the way was unfit for horses. The sterility of the soil would necessitate the transportation of many articles from the coast and the lowlands, and this would throw an intolerable burden upon the natives. Finally, their experience seemed to indicate that the conditions of this mountainous country

were such as to make the raising of horses difficult, if not impossible.[1]

When the project to abandon Jauja for the coast region was under discussion, there were thirty Europeans in the town. At a subsequent meeting, held on December 4, 1534, the cabildo commissioned García de Salcedo, Rodrigo de Mazuelas, and the attorney, Francisco de Hererra, to examine the territory near the coast, and to act for the town in the undertaking to find a proper site for the new settlement, the site that would be most favourable for the service of the king and the well-being of the inhabitants.[2]

II

Pizarro accepted the project to remove all of the inhabitants of Jauja, and appointed Ruy Diaz, Juan Tello, and Alonso Martin de D. Benito as commissioners to seek a convenient site for the proposed city. On January 13, 1535, these commissioners appeared before Governor Pizarro, took a solemn oath, and reported that they had examined the lands of the cacique of Lima and found an excellent site near the sea, which appeared to be healthful,

[1] A number of documents relating to the foundation of Lima are printed in the third part of *Libro primero de cabildos de Lima*. Among these one may read: Letter of Charles V and Doña Juana, November 3, 1536, approving of the transfer of the inhabitants from Jauja and their establishment at Lima, p. 17; a grant by Charles V of a coat of arms for the city, and confirmation of the foundation, pp. 18–19; Decrees conceding privileges and prerogatives to the city, pp. 20–40. In this connection mention may be made of *Lima Fundada, o conquista del Perú*, by Pedro de Peralta Barnuevo, which is described on the title-page as a "*poema heroica en que se decanta toda la historia del descubrimiento y sujecion de sus provincias por D. Francisco Pizarro.*" It comprises ten cantos, with an aggregate of nine thousand three hundred and eighty-four lines, and constitutes the first volume of Odriozola's *Coleccion de documentos literarios del Perú*. The notes of this edition, as well as the text, may be consulted with profit. Peralta was a professor in the University of San Marcos, and rector for the years 1715, 1716, and 1717. He died in Lima in 1743 in his eightieth year. The long list of his writings is given by Mendiburu, vi. 265.

[2] *Libro primero de cabildos de Lima*, i. 6.

where there was wood, very good water, and an abundance of land for cultivation. On the basis of this report Pizarro ordered the inhabitants of Jauja and San Gallán transferred to the place selected, and appointed the persons who were to constitute the government of the new city. He appointed Nicolas de Ribera and Juan Tello to be alcaldes; and for regidores, Alonso de Riquelme, García de Salcedo, who were royal officials, Rodrigo Mazuelas, Cristóbal de Peralta, Alonso Palomino, Diego de Agüero, Nicolas de Ribera, Jr., and Diego Gavilán. To these was added Domingo de la Presa as secretary of the cabildo. The commissioners appointed by the cabildo of Jauja assented to this order.[1]

Pizarro was at Pachacamac when he received the report of the commissioners on the site of the capital and made the appointments to the municipal offices. It was while he was here, moreover, that he received Almagro and Alvarado after they had formed the agreement of August 26, 1534, in Riobamba. These leaders were accompanied by the notary, Domingo de la Presa, who remained with Pizarro to become the secretary of Lima, while Almagro went to Cuzco and Alvarado returned to Guatemala. To the twenty-six residents contributed by Jauja to the new settlement, there were added thirty from San Gallán. Thus Lima entered upon its career as a town with one priest, eleven officials, and fifty-six other persons, making in all a group of sixty-eight persons. The eighteenth of January is counted as the date of the foundation; but the cabildo was not installed until the twenty-first of the same month.[2] Pizarro assigned lands to the

[1] *Libro primo de cabildos de Lima*, i. 7–13, ii. 1–2. Biographical sketches of the principal persons associated with the foundation of Lima may be read in *Libro primero de cabildos de Lima*, i. 381–404, and in Part Second, 1–88. For the shield (*Escudo*) of Lima, see *Libro primero de cabildos de Lima*, ii. 222–25.

[2] In the second part of the *Libro primero de cabildos de Lima*, ii. 7–80, the editor, Enriquez Torres Saldamando, has presented the genealogy of the principal men who had part in the founding of Lima. The posi-

settlers of the new town, and this was done under the *Capitulación* of July 26, 1529, which authorised him to distribute lands among the residents of the cities which he might establish in Peru. These lands were of two classes: either town lots (*solares*), on which to build houses or other edifices, or lands to be cultivated.[1]

III

The first important action of the cabildo after it was organised referred to the preservation of the trees in the valley of the Rimac. After it was found that the prospective inhabitants of the new town were felling useful fruit trees for timber with which to build houses on lots that had been assigned to them, the cabildo, at its meeting on January 30, 1535, ordered that no one should cut down fruit trees anywhere in the valley, under a severe penalty, and that no trees of any kind should be cut down without permission from the cabildo. There were doubtless more trees in the valley in the sixteenth century than at present, yet from the beginning of the city Lima suffered from a scarcity of wood. Much of that used for building was brought by sea from Guayaquil; some was received from Chile; and Mexico and Central America furnished a certain amount of cedar. Recognising the lack of wood in the region about Lima, the cabildo on several occasions required the residents to plant trees on their lands.

tion selected for the capital was lat. 12° 2′ 24″ south; long. from Greenwich 76° 51′ 30″ west, and five hundred feet above the level of the sea.

[1] "Concedemos á los dichos vecinos e pobladores que les sean dados por vos los solares y tierras convenientes á sus personas, conforme á lo que se ha hecho e hace en la dicha isla Española; e ansimismo os daremos poder para que en nuestro nombre, durante el tiempo de vuestra gobernacion, hagais la encomienda de los Indios de la dicha tierra, guardando en ella las instrucciones e ordenanzas que vos serán dadas."—From the *Capitulación* of July 26, 1529. For the act attesting the foundation of Lima, see Odriozola, *Documentos lit. del Perú*, xi. 35.

The minutes of the cabildo for the first four years, from 1535 to 1539, have been deciphered and printed in *Libro primero de cabildos de Lima* (Lima, 1888), and in these three folio volumes one has access to an account of the acts of the municipal council in the early progress of its work from week to week. These minutes are the beginning of a record of a city government that has been continued without interruption into the twentieth century. The power of Spain in the New World has been broken; the long list of viceroys has come to an end; revolutions have set up and deposed presidents; but, after all the vicissitudes of nearly four hundred years of Peruvian history, the municipal government of Lima is the legitimate descendant of the government organised by Pizarro to manage the public affairs of his little capital of less than a hundred inhabitants. The discussions and resolutions of the regidores concerned restrictions on the conduct of negroes and Indians; prices which labourers and tradesmen might charge for their work or their wares; the weights and measures that must be used; the assignment of lots to persons asking the privileges of residents of the town; the disposition of the water brought for irrigation or for other uses; and such other topics as presented themselves in the experience of a primitive settlement.

IV

By a bull of Pope Paul III, issued on the solicitation of Charles V, the church at Lima was elevated to the rank of a cathedral, and Gerónimo de Loayza became the first bishop in 1543. There were then created a dean, an archdeacon, ten canons, and the other officers and employees required by the organisation of a cathedral; but, since the income of the cathedral of Lima was not sufficient to maintain all of these persons, some of them were temporarily suspended. In determining the procedure, or the

conduct of the affairs of the cathedral, it was required that the constitutions, ordinances, usages, customs, and rites of the cathedral of Seville should be followed. When Pizarro, in January 1535, laid the corner-stone, the church was dedicated to Nuestra Señora de la Asuncion, but Paul III, in raising it to the dignity of a cathedral, announced St. John the Evangelist as its principal patron, perhaps because the church at Cuzco was under the patronage of Our Lady of the Assumption. In 1545 the church of Lima was once more raised in rank, and Bishop Loayza became the archbishop. Loayza held his office until his death in Lima, October 25, 1575. After this event Diego Gomez de la Madrid was appointed to be his successor. His appointment was made in 1577, but he did not go to Peru, and the following year accepted the bishopric of Badajoz, in Spain. The office of archbishop remained six years without an active incumbent, and at the close of this period, in 1581, Toribio Alfonso Mongrovejo became Archbishop of Lima, and held the office until his death, March 23, 1606. He was beatified in 1679, and canonised in 1726, after which he was known as Saint Toribio.

Spain's conception of her conquest and colonisation of America presumed the participation of a larger or smaller number of the clergy in every important enterprise affecting the natives. We find, therefore, the Dominican friar, Reginaldo Pedraza, accompanying Francisco Pizarro in the early exploration of the Pacific coast. He went with him to Spain, and was with him at Toledo in July 1529, when the *capitulaciones* were issued by Charles V. Pedraza was commissioned to receive the ornaments and sacred objects that were to be taken to Lima for the church. He was also commissioned to select six Dominicans to accompany him in returning to Peru with Pizarro. These were Tomas de San Martin, Vicente Valverde, Martin Esquibel, Pedro de Ulloa, Alonso Montenegro, and Domingo de Santo

Tomas. One of these, Vicente Valverde, became Bishop of Cuzco. When, in 1534, the Dominicans proposed to establish a monastery at Cuzco, the temple of the Sun was assigned to them for their use.[1]

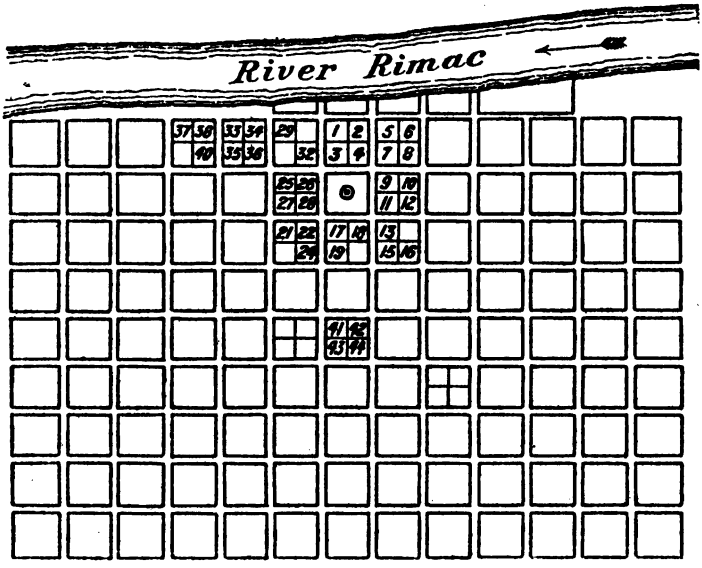
In accordance with an order conveyed by the decree of October 23, 1529, there were assigned to the Dominicans in Lima four lots, one square from the principal plaza, on which to erect their monastery. Six years later, in 1541, Pizarro gave them two more lots to be added to the four which they had already received. They also received agricultural land, outside of the city, and an assignment of Indians to work it. Prior to 1540, the Dominicans of Peru belonged to the province of Santa Cruz of Santo Domingo; but in this year, under the papal bull of December 23, 1539, the Dominican province of Peru was created, which embraced the territory subject to the viceroy and the political division of Nicaragua. Later, Nicaragua, Guatemala, and New Granada were withdrawn from the Peruvian province. The Franciscans were also established in Lima very early. They had a house in Pachacámac, but they were transferred from this town to the capital in 1536. The chroniclers of the order of Merced affirm that the members of this order had a hermitage on the site of their later monastery before the arrival of either the Dominicans or the Franciscans; but no evidence has been presented to substantiate this affirmation. It is known, however, that in 1537 their Peruvian province had been created, and that the pretensions of Almagro and Pizarro were submitted to the provincial of this order, Francisco de Bobadilla, for decision. Before the end of the century this province had been divided into two: that of Cuzco and that of Lima.[2]

The city, according to Pizarro's original plan, contained one hundred and seventeen blocks, thirteen in

[1] *Libro primero de cabildos de Lima*, part ii. 270; Herrera, *Dec.* V, lib. ii. cap. xii., xiii.; Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, i. 416, 475.

[2] *Libro primero de cabildos de Lima*, ii. 269–285.

length and nine in width, each one hundred and forty-seven varas square. The lot, or solar, was one-fourth part of a block.[1]



[1] In the distribution of the solares, Francisco Pizarro took Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4. After the death of Pizarro, this block fell into the hands of the State, and became, in the course of time, the site of the palace of the viceroys. Nos. 5 and 7 were given to the treasurer, Antonio Riquelme, but No. 7 was later withdrawn for the use of the government, and, instead of it, he received No. 6. Antonio Picado, Pizarro's secretary, received No. 8, while solares 9 and 10 were assigned to the visitador, Garcia de Salcedo, but later No. 9 became the cemetery of the church. On No. 11 was built the cathedral, which ultimately extended over No. 12. Captain Diego de Agüero received No. 13; Juan de Barbaran, No. 15; Pedro Navarro, No. 16; Hernan Ponce, No. 17; Juan Diaz Melgar, No. 19; Francisco de Godoy, Nos. 18 and 29; Nicolas de Ribera, Sr., No. 22; Nicolas de Ribera, Jr., No. 24; Martin Pizarro, No. 21; Hernando Pizarro, Nos. 25 and 26; Rodrigo de Mazuelas, No. 28; Juan de Barrios, No. 27; Francisco Martin de Alcántara, No. 32; the Dominican monastery, Nos. 33, 34, 35, and 36, and, later, Nos. 38 and 40 and a part of 37; the monastery of Merced, Nos. 41, 42, 43, and 44. A complete account of the distribution of the solares is not now possible, because of the loss of certain documents which contained the record.—*Libro primero de cabildos de Lima*, ii. 409–11.

V

Ordinances approved in 1551 contain, among other items, the following prohibitions and regulations: No person who had already a lot might obtain another, and those lots which had been assigned should be enclosed within six months. All persons who held estates or farms within the limits of the city were required to plant within a year a certain number of willows and other trees for wood. No person except the owner might cut fruit trees. Negroes might not go into the streets after the ringing of the curfew; they might not enter the shops of the natives, or carry arms of any kind. If proved that they had raised their hands against a Spaniard, they should be given a hundred lashes, and their hands should be pierced with nails for the first offence, and they should be cut off for the second offence, unless they had acted in self-defence. The negroes, for intimate relations with the Indians, should be punished with flogging, and a repetition of the offence should be punished with mutilation or exile, according as they were slaves or freedmen. Persons deceiving with weights and measures should pay a fine of twenty pesos; and, in order that the proper weights and measures might be maintained, it was required that there should be an inspector of weights and measures appointed by the city. Wine and other articles should not be sold by estimating by bulk or lump, but by measuring and weighing; and an official tariff should be placed at the door of every shop. Under these ordinances all the citizens were required to keep their premises clean, and to leave the rubbish in no place except that designated by the cabildo. Animals should not be brought into the city for the night, nor should they remain in the fields without a herdsman; and no one should enter the grain fields of another person for the purpose of gleaning.[1]

[1] Lorente, *Historia del Perú bajo la dinastía austriaca*, 206. These ordinances are printed in *Revista de archivos y bibliotecas nationales*, v. 10–20; also in *Libro primero de cabildos de Lima*, iii. 51–6.

With the growth of Lima and the extension of cultivation on the blocks not occupied by buildings and on the lands without the limits of the town, proper arrangements were required for distributing water to the city and to the fields, particularly in view of the fact that this part of Peru is a rainless region. Seeing the unsatisfactory results of previous efforts, the viceroy, Francisco de Toledo, gave this subject special attention in forming ordinances for the good government of the city. He ordered that the canals or ditches, which had been begun, should be completed and extended, so that the increased population might be served; that where the ditches received water from the main canal, or from another ditch, there should be means for determining the amount of water taken by these ditches, in order that none might take more than had been assigned to it. No person might close a ditch or open a new one, except by permission from the cabildo of Lima. Every person was required to keep all ditches on his own property clean, so that the water might flow freely; and he was prohibited from throwing into the ditches any material from the stable or the sweepings from the house. Where a ditch crossed a street in the town, it was required that it should be covered with thin flat stones in such a manner that they would appear even with the surface of the street, and would not be ugly or offer any hindrance to traffic. If any person wished to make or repair a ditch or canal, he should not undertake it on his own authority, but should seek permission from the superintendent of the waterworks. Finding that the carts which passed through the streets of the town broke and destroyed the ditches and befouled the water, the viceroy ordered that thereafter no carts of any kind, big or little, should enter the city. Somewhat similar regulations were established with respect to the water that was conducted to the fields for irrigation. Severe penalties were imposed for the violation of any of these ordinances.[1]

[1] *Libro primero de cabildos de Lima*, iii. 57–63.

At the close of his term of office, Toledo prepared and presented to the king an elaborate memorial setting forth the beneficent achievements of his administration. But in spite of services which caused him to be known as the Peruvian Solon, he ended his official career without the favour of the king. When he presented himself at the court, the king, remembering his treatment of Inca Tupac Amaru, said to him: "Go to your home; I did not send you to Peru to kill kings, but to serve kings." Francisco de Toledo entered upon the exercise of authority as viceroy at Lima, November 26, 1569, and relinquished this authority to his successor, Martin Enriquez, on September 23, 1581.[1]

[1] Mendiburu, viii. 22–71; Lorente, *Historia del Perú bajo la dinastía austriaca*, 299–341. These are references to two general accounts of the events of Toledo's reign. It is uncertain whether his successor entered Lima on September 23 or 28; see Mendiburu, iv. 229. Toledo's memorial to the king is printed in *Relaciones de los vireyes y audiencias que han gobernado el Perú*, i. 3–31; the rest of the volume, pp. 33–366, comprises the ordinances issued by Toledo, "*para el buen gobierno de estos reinos del Perú y republicas de el.*"

CHAPTER XI

THE CONQUEST OF CHILE

I. The early services of Aguirre and Valdivia. II. Valdivia's expedition to Chile. III. Settlements in Tucuman.

I

In the history of the attempts to conquer and colonise Chile after the death of Almagro, two persons appear whose characters and achievements entitle them to special consideration. One of these was Pedro de Valdivia; the other was Francisco de Aguirre. Both had been soldiers under Charles V in Italy, and both were typical representatives of the most vigorous class of Spanish adventurers who sought fortune and glory in America in the sixteenth century.

Valdivia was born in Estremadura, and, like most of his fellow-provincials, was poor. In 1535, leaving his family in Spain, he set out for America, and took part in a more or less fruitless expedition in Venezuela. In 1536 he arrived in Peru. He was one of a large number of soldiers who hastened to that country from all parts of America to assist in putting down an uprising of the Indians which threatened to exterminate Pizarro and his followers. The prestige which Valdivia enjoyed on account of his service in Italy, and the qualities he displayed in Peru, enabled him to gain the confidence of Pizarro and the leadership of the expedition to Chile. During his service in Peru he acquired a rich mine at Porco, from which he drew revenues that helped to make him one of the most wealthy men of the province. Here he displayed that trait of character which was conspicuous throughout his

career. He was dissatisfied with conditions that most men would have regarded as eminently satisfactory. He was not a colonist, but a conqueror. He was less interested in developing the conditions of civilisation and a peaceful civil life than in expanding the realm of his military jurisdiction. The orderly growth of the cities which he founded concerned him less than the plan of extending his dominion to the Straits of Magellan.

Aguirre was born in 1500, in the city of Talavera de la Reina. His family claimed the distinction of nobility, and had sufficient property to maintain itself in a manner befitting its pretensions. He attained a degree of cultivation superior to that possessed by most of his later companions in America. Like many of the prominent youth of his time, he adopted the profession of a soldier. He was with the victorious army when Francis I was defeated at Pavia, and the king himself was made a prisoner. In the sacking of Rome Aguirre distinguished himself by his successful efforts to stay the barbarities which his company proposed to perpetrate. A little later we find him married, retired from the army, and serving by appointment of Charles V as corregidor of his native city. Here his five children were born; and these years in Talavera de la Reina appear to have been a period of calm in an otherwise stormy existence. But in the course of time stories of the adventurers who had gone to America became household tales in Spain; and they carried their disturbing influence even to the stagnant country towns. Cultivating his paternal estate appeared to Aguirre a mean and fruitless occupation, while his mind was inflamed with visions of the wealth and glory to be achieved beyond the sea. He was thirty-three years old, full of both mental and physical vigour, and conscious that his knowledge of military affairs would enable him to win distinction. Leaving behind his young wife and four of his small children, he took the eldest, a boy of six years, and embarked for America in 1533. He went, as he wrote many years

later, "not naked, as others are accustomed to come, but with a reasonable establishment of aides, an extensive equipment and arms, and a certain number of servants and friends."[1] He arrived in Peru a short time after Pizarro had spoiled the Inca's kingdom and murdered Atahualpa. The population of the country was still aghast at the crime. From Cajamarca Pizarro had led his little army southward, and in November 1533 had taken possession of Cuzco. Shortly after the occupation of the Inca's capital, Francisco de Aguirre joined Pizarro's forces, thus adding to the support of the conqueror a man of military skill and experience. The forces of Pizarro were further increased, in August 1534, by the survivors of Alvarado's troops, who remained in Peru after the return of that leader to Guatemala. All these and more were needed as soon as the Indians recovered from their temporary astonishment and stupefaction over the audacity and barbarity of the invaders. Cuzco and Trujillo and the newly-founded capital of Lima were besieged, and there were uprisings in all quarters. But the serious danger from the Indian insurrections passed with the arrival of reinforcements from Guatemala and Panama, and the return of Almagro and his force of five hundred men from Chile. As already indicated, Almagro's return was followed by hostilities between the rival leaders, arising out of their conflicting claims to the city of Cuzco. These hostilities finally culminated in the overthrow of Almagro at the battle of Las Salinas, and his subsequent execution.

The victory of Pizarro left him in possession of the ancient capital, and practically master of the Inca's dominions. Clothed with this extensive power, his attention was immediately directed to further explorations into the undiscovered country. The eastern side of the Andes, with the rich plains and extensive forests, were an unknown region. To the south lay the high and

[1] Letter of Francisco de Aguirre to the Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo, October 8, 1569.

broken tableland of Upper Peru, and farther on towards the south-east the inhospitable wilderness of the Gran Chaco, which embraced the region about the rivers Bermejo and Pilcomayo, and extended to the Paraguay. The most important of the numerous expeditions organised at this time was that directed to the land of the Chunchos, about the rivers Madre de Dios, Mamoré, and Madeira. This was under the command of Captain Pedro de Candia, and consisted of three hundred Spaniards, chiefly soldiers who had served under Almagro, and ten thousand Indians as carriers of provisions and equipment. The hardships encountered on this expedition may be inferred from a survey of the feeble and emaciated remnant that returned to the shore of Lake Titicaca after a fruitless journey of seven hundred leagues. All of the Indians and negroes had perished; only eighty of the three hundred Spanish soldiers had survived; and most of the horses and dogs had been consumed as food.[1]

To this period belong also the expedition of Gonzalo Pizarro to the land of Cinnamon, and the voyage of Francisco de Orellana down the river of the Amazons. Almost from the first discovery of Peru, vehement desires arose in Spain for information concerning the great river of the Amazons, and from time to time persons appeared among the Spaniards in Peru willing to join expeditions designed to gather the information desired.[2]

[1] A general view of the region north and north-east of Lake Titicaca, on the eastern slope of the Andes, may be derived from Markham's *Travels in Peru and India*, chap. xii.–xvi.

[2] An account of the expeditions organised for this purpose is given in the Hakluyt Society's volume called *Expeditions into the valley of the Amazons*, 1859. The introduction by C. R. Markham presents an historical sketch of these expeditions, which is followed by Garcilasso de la Vega's account of the *Expedition of Gonzalo Pizarro* to the land of Cinnamon, 1539–42, translated from the Royal Commentaries of Peru; Antonio de Herrera's description of the *Voyage of Francisco de Orellana* down the river of the Amazons, 1540–41; and Markham's translation of Acuña's *New Discovery of the Great River of the Amazons*, from the Spanish edition of 1641. The voyage of Acuña follows that of Orellana after an interval of about a hundred years, and was about

During this period Aguirre remained in Cuzco in the service of Pizarro; but a little later we find both Captain Aguirre and Captain Valdivia taking part in an expedition to the valley of Cochabamba. As a result of this expedition the Indians of Cochabamba were brought into submission, and the tact displayed by Aguirre in this undertaking caused his military abilities to be recognised. His relation to Pizarro at this time, aside from the personal attachment which he had for his superior, was similar to that of a feudal vassal to his overlord. He provided his own horses, his arms, his aides, and servants, and received no salary. His expenses were met with funds brought from Spain, while some of the other leaders spent in their expeditions their parts of the booty of the conquest. This booty was the source of the funds employed by Captain Pedro de Candia in the expedition into the territory of the Chunchos beyond the Andes.

After the founding of the city of La Plata, in 1539, Charcas, the central part of modern Bolivia, was governed, subject to the authority at Lima, by Diego de Rojas.[1]

A little later Rojas undertook an exploring expedition to the Gran Chaco, inhabited by Chiriguanos, and

eighty years later than the expedition in which the bloodthirsty Lope de Aguirre figured. The history of it as given by Acuña is, however, "the earliest published account of the river Amazons in existence" (Markham). It was printed in Madrid in 1641. A new edition is cited as published in Madrid in 1659, but, according to the bibliographical notice in the Madrid edition of 1891, no copy of it is known to exist. A French translation was published in Paris by Claude Borbin, in 1682, reissued in 1684 with a new title-page. The English translation, published in London in 1698, is said to be "full of omissions, mistakes, and long interpolations in the text." A German translation was issued in Vienna in 1729. Almost the whole of Acuña's work is incorporated in *El Marañón y Amazonas*, by Manuel Rodriguez (Madrid, 1684), pp. 101–41. The new edition of Madrid, 1891, is issued as the second volume of the *Coleccion de libros que tratan de America raros o curiosos*.

[1] Antonio de Herrera affirms that Felipe Gutierrez was the first in authority, having the title of captain-general, while Rojas held the position of justicia-mayor; but the statement of Ruiz Diaz de Guzman, that Gutierrez was subordinated to Rojas, appears to be confirmed by the original documents relating to the case. See note by Funes, i. 70.

Aguirre succeeded[1] him in the governorship of Charcas. In this office there fell to Aguirre the task of completing the conquest, or pacification, of the Indians of his territory. He lived at La Plata, and sent small detachments of soldiers to put down the different uprisings as they appeared from time to time. In this difficult undertaking he was able to maintain order and discipline among the troops, who, after the battle of Las Salinas, were divided into more or less hostile groups.

The expedition to the Gran Chaco was not more successful than that which Captain Candia had led into the territory of the Chunchos. Rojas was obliged to send to Aguirre for assistance, but was in so far more fortunate than Candia that he was able to save the lives of his soldiers. After a year of profitless sacrifice, he returned to Cuzco, in 1540, to make a report concerning his expedition to the governor of Peru. The hardships, the privations, the dangers of starvation, which the Spanish soldiers encountered, did not cause them to hesitate to enter upon any new expedition. When, therefore, it was announced that Valdivia was to lead a company of soldiers and settlers across the deserts of Atacama and Tarapacá to Chile, the project seemed as attractive to these hardened pioneers as if they had never faced fever and starvation in the swamps and wilderness of the Chaco.

II

Valdivia found that his appointment to be the chief of the proposed expedition to Chile carried with it the duty of providing his own soldiers, their arms, equipment, and maintenance. At the same time he discovered that

[1] Wilcocke, in his *History of the Viceroyalty of Buenos Aires*, 423, says the Chiriguanos were "a nation scattered over several districts of the provinces of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, las Charcas, and Chacu; and are most inveterate enemies of the Spaniards. They appear to have originally come from Paraguay and the confines of Brazil."

concessions had been made by the crown to other persons to make conquests, and these were of such a character that they might interfere with the execution of his plans. One of these concessionaries was Pedro Sancho de Hoz, who had already arrived in Lima. In order to set aside all embarrassment that might arise from this source, Pizarro induced Valdivia and Sancho de Hoz to form an agreement to co-operate, under which Sancho de Hoz undertook to furnish certain supplies that were wanting. But the agreement itself, dividing the leadership, might very well have been fatal to the successful execution of the project. The element that prevented failure was Valdivia's indomitable will and his sagacity as a leader.

Valdivia left Cuzco in January 1540. His route led through Puno, Arequipa, Arica, and Tarapacá. His force consisted of one hundred and fifty Spaniards, including the infantry and the cavalry, with about a thousand Indians to carry the baggage. By the route chosen he avoided the difficulties of the mountain passes, and the cold that would have been experienced in crossing. There was one woman in the company, Inez Suarez, " bound to Valdivia by the ties of love." While at Tarapacá the company was increased by the addition of a number of Spaniards who had come over the cordillera under the command of Captain Juan Bohón. The greater part of these had served under Rojas, and had been scattered after that leader's unfortunate expedition. Valdivia left Tarapacá in June 1540, and from that point the way led over long stretches of sterile deserts; first to the well of Tamentica, then across the brackish stream of Loa to Calama, and beyond to the little valley of Chiu-Chiu. Having established a temporary camp in this valley, Valdivia, accompanied by ten soldiers, went on to explore in person the oasis of San Pedro, or Atacama la Grande, thirty leagues beyond Chiu-Chiu. He wished to find a place that offered conditions favourable for a long halt, and for the support and recuperation of his followers. In

this he was successful, for at the end of his journey he discovered a little stream of delicious water, which was bordered by rich vegetation. Here he found also his former companion-in-arms, Francisco de Aguirre. Two other persons who were to have important parts in the history of the colony joined the expedition on the journey. These were Francisco de Villagra and Rodrigo de Quiroga.

But Pedro Sancho de Hoz, whose arrival had been expected, had not appeared. By reason of his lack of funds and the persistent demands of his creditors, he found it impossible to meet the obligations he had assumed in connection with the expedition. He did not, however, abandon all hope of participating in it. After his arrival he formed a conspiracy with four other persons to arrest or assassinate Valdivia, and assume the command. But when the conspirators appeared at the tent of Valdivia to execute their design, they found Inez Suarez and some of the officers, but not the chief. Sancho de Hoz was arrested, and compelled to renounce his agreement with Valdivia. Three of his associates were sent back to Peru, and one of them was retained as a member of the company. This gave Valdivia the sole and undisputed control of the expedition.

After the disastrous expedition to the region of the Chiriguanos, and the departure of Rojas for Lima, Aguirre had remained in Upper Peru in command of a small detachment of twenty-five soldiers. The knowledge that had been gained through the expeditions to the Chunchos and the Chiriguanos discouraged, for the time being, any further exploration in the country inhabited by these tribes. There was then nothing in view more attractive than the expedition to Chile; and as Aguirre received no remuneration for services which he was rendering, he determined to leave the Charcas and join the followers of Valdivia. He took with him twenty-five soldiers, passed through Tupiza, crossed the Andes, following in some part the route of Almagro, and finally joined Valdivia at

the oasis of Atacama la Grande. He immediately enrolled his soldiers in the forces of Valdivia, and placed himself under the command of that leader.

Largely through the foresight and efforts of Aguirre, sufficient food for both men and animals had been gathered to warrant entering upon the last and most dangerous stage of the journey, the five hundred miles of desert between Copiapó and their camp at Atacama la Grande. On this part of the journey camps for the night were determined by the few places where there were little wells or springs, but these usually furnished only a limited quantity of water, and that sometimes of a poor quality. This expedition, however, had the good fortune to reach the fertile valley of Copiapó in September without losing a soldier or any of the horses. A few of the Indians, however, succumbed to the fatigues of the march, and died on the desert. On arriving in the valley of Copiapó, Valdivia caused the flag of Spain to be raised, made a formal declaration of taking possession of the country before the notary of the expedition, and performed all the ceremonies incident to establishing Spanish authority.

During the three months spent here, from the middle of September to the middle of December, the Spaniards were frequently attacked by the Indians, who remembered the treatment they had received at the hands of Almagro.

The next stage of the journey brought Valdivia and his followers to the site of the present city of Santiago. A plan was made for the town, and one of the squares was set apart for the plaza. Provision was made on two sides of the plaza for the church and the house of the governor. The lots on the other two sides were taken by the principal captains, those on the east falling to Francisco de Aguirre. For several months after having established the plan of the city the Spaniards went on with their city-building free from any disturbance from the Indians. Valdivia created a cabildo, or the traditional governing body of a

municipality. This government was organised on March 7, 1541, and Aguirre became the first alcalde. In order that Valdivia might exercise independent authority, and not be regarded as merely a lieutenant of Pizarro, he was elected governor by the cabildo, and in this capacity was held to be head of the colony, and directly subject to the king of Spain.[1]

Aguirre continued to be a resident of Santiago for nine years, and during this period he was the first alcalde in the years 1541, 1545, and 1549, and a regidor, or member of the council, for the years 1542, 1544, 1546, and 1547. During this time he was, moreover, charged with important commissions or trusts. He was made public administrator, and also *factor real*, or treasurer in charge of the funds belonging to the Crown—such funds, for example, as the royal fifths paid from the product of the mines.

The peace which attended the beginning of the town was not long continued. Six months later the Indians rose and made war on the invaders. Lighted brands were thrown upon the grass roofs of the little wooden houses, and all the buildings, except the quarters for the soldiers, were destroyed. These were defended by Aguirre, who came out of the fight severely wounded. The new houses that were constructed after the first had been burned, were built of adobes, and the roofs were covered with tiles. The Indians continued for a short time to be a source of disturbance, and Aguirre often led out a troop of Spanish soldiers to make war on them. The punishment which he inflicted was sometimes severe, for he was a warrior who fought for results, and not merely for the sake of the game. The arrival of seventy mounted men as recruits

[1] The action of this newly-organised cabildo becomes intelligible when it is remembered that the ancient Spanish municipality and its descendants in the early decades of the Spanish colonisation in America were endowed with a power much broader than that exercised by municipalities at present. They could intervene in the political affairs of the province or colony, " en muchos casos a contrarrestar los ordenes del jefe."—Gay, *Historia de Chile*, i. 142.

from Peru, under Alonso de Monroy, removed all doubts from the Spaniards as to their ability to defend themselves. A little later, Aguirre, at the head of a strong garrison, was stationed in the province of Itata to prevent the Indians from passing northward. This was in 1543, and explains the absence of his name from the list of members of the cabildo for that year.

As soon as peace was established, Valdivia proceeded to distribute the lands of the region among the most important of his followers, thus introducing here that form of feudalism which became general throughout the Spanish colonies, known as the system of encomiendas, the holder of the fief being called the encomendero. The encomendero was the feudal lord over a valley or some other considerable tract of the country, and of the Indians who inhabited it. In accordance with the terms of his grant, he was to be prepared for war, furnishing his own horses and arms. He was expected to keep the roads and bridges in repair, and to care for the moral and religious instruction of the Indians of his territory.

In spite of their nominal position as feudal lords, the Spaniards led, in these early years, a mean and narrow existence. They were isolated; little or no information came to them from Peru or Spain; they had given up their hopes of suddenly acquiring great wealth by plundering another Inca kingdom; and they were compelled to seek their maintenance in agriculture and mining.

In 1546 Valdivia returned to Peru, leaving Francisco de Villagra[1] as acting governor. An intercepted letter, asking the assistance of a person in Santiago, showed

[1] Barros Arana calls this conquistador Villagran, but the facsimile of the signature, which is printed opposite p. 88 of the second volume of his *Historia jeneral de Chile*, appears to justify the omission of the final "n." Moreover, Captain Alonso de Góngora Marmolejo, who served under Pedro de Valdivia, always writes the name "Villagra," in his *Historia de Chile*. The text of Góngora Marmolejo here referred to is that published by the Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 1852; see p. 27, note.

Villagra that Sancho de Hoz had come from his retirement in the country, and had prepared a revolt to overthrow the government. A consultation in the house of Aguirre between Aguirre and Villagra, in view of the former murderous attempt of Sancho de Hoz, left no doubt in the mind of either as to what action should be taken; and while they were here, an officer brought in Sancho de Hoz as a prisoner. When Villagra showed him the letter, the prisoner begged for mercy, and asked to be thrown upon a desert island where he might do penance for his sins. The rest may be told in the words of the notary, Luis de Cartagena:

"Francisco de Villagra called Juan Gómez, the high constable, who was there in the patio of the house, and ordered him to take Pedro Sancho de Hoz and put him in a room of the house and cut off his head; and thus the high constable took Pedro Sancho, and a negro slave who was called there, and made him tie the prisoner's hands behind his back and told him to cut off the prisoner's head.

"The negro was disturbed, and not having a knife or anything else with which he could cut it off, the constable took his sword which he carried at his belt, and gave it to the slave, with which the slave cut off the head of Pedro Sancho de Hoz. Then they took him to the plaza, and Francisco de Villagra commanded that the crime should be proclaimed by the voice of the crier, saying: 'This is the justice which is ordered by his Majesty and the very excellent Señor Francisco de Villagra, lieutenant-governor and superior judge of these provinces of Chile, to this revolutionist and mutineer against the service of his Majesty.'"[1]

This summary justice put an end to the mutiny. It ended, moreover, the pretensions of Sancho de Hoz to share the leadership in the colony with Valdivia. The other important subject that occupied the Spaniards in

[1] Quoted by Lezaeta, in *El Conquistador Francisco de Aguirre*, 75.

Chile during the absence of Valdivia was the hostilities of the Indians in the northern provinces. A troop of Spanish soldiers under Juan Bohón was cut down in December 1548, Bohón alone being taken alive, and he was afterwards killed with great cruelty. Not long after this event the Indians attacked and burnt the town of Serena, killing all the inhabitants but two Spaniards. When Villagra went to restore order in this region, Aguirre was placed at the head of the government of Santiago. It was feared that in the uprising, which threatened to be general throughout the country, the weakened colony would be overwhelmed and utterly annihilated. While the inhabitants were thus depressed in spirit, their hopes were suddenly revived by the news that Valdivia had arrived in Valparaiso, returning from Peru after an absence of a year and a half, and that he had brought with him three hundred soldiers. Valdivia had, moreover, during this long visit in Peru, secured through Gasca the royal confirmation of his title as Governor of Chile.[1] Immediately after he landed, his efforts were directed to subduing the natives of the north, and establishing a city in place of the Serena that had been burned; and for this undertaking he selected Francisco de Aguirre. A few days later he confirmed the encomiendas that had been granted to Aguirre in the valley of Mapocho and in the valley of Cachapoal in 1544; and, in addition, he conferred upon him the fiefs of Copiapó and Coquimbo, The former had been made vacant by the death of Bohón, and the latter had been held by Valdivia. Aguirre thus became the founder of the permanent city of Serena; and he received the position and title of lieutenant-governor.

The task which Aguirre had to face appeared to be both difficult and dangerous. The Indians had killed the

[1] Concerning the charges against Valdivia and his trial in Lima, see Barros Arana, *Historia jeneral de Chile*, i. 324–27; also *Proceso de Valdivia*.

considerable force under the command of Bohón, even to the last man, as well as the Indian auxiliaries who had come with the soldiers from Peru; they had swept out of existence the town of Serena, and, rendered bolder by their successes, they had made the reconquest of that region appear like a perilous undertaking. When, therefore, Aguirre left Santiago in August 1549, with only thirty men, the expedition seemed to those not involved in it like a foolhardy adventure. He was attacked by the Indians while on the journey, but his resistance and furious onslaughts on the enemy spread terror among them. He selected a site for the new city, organised a government for it, left there the bulk of his force as a garrison, and, with a little band of only eleven men, started on a tour of "pacification" through the country. He evidently wished to show the natives some of the consequences they might expect from a murderous uprising. "For six months he traversed the extensive regions of Coquimbo and Copiapó, making on the Indians a war of surprises and horrible punishments, which spread a panic among them. He rushed upon them in their most secluded haunts at the moment when they least expected it, and, having put to the sword those he met defending themselves, shut up in their straw huts as prisoners men, women, and children, and immediately set fire to their habitations, thus causing the miserable wretches to perish under the most horrible tortures."[1] Aguirre's progress through the valleys left desolation in its track. The sentiment of horror which it awakened was somewhat tempered at the time by the recollection of the barbarities which, a few months before, the Indians had inflicted on Bohón and his followers, and on the inhabitants of Serena. The surviving natives were impressed with the fact that it was advisable to maintain peace, at least as long as Aguirre remained in the country. "After these events," to quote Lezaeta, "the northern part of Chile was definitely pacified

[1] Lezaeta, 90.

in such a manner that the Spaniards might travel in all directions without any fear whatsoever." [1]

The Indians were not merely pacified; they became submissive to their new masters, worked in the mines and on the cultivated lands, and through their labour the northern settlement attained a marked degree of prosperity. But in 1552 Aguirre was called away to a new undertaking. Valdivia appointed him governor of Tucuman. The immediate reason for this appointment was the information which Valdivia had received, that the town of Barco had been founded by Nuñez de Prado, and that this town lay within the limits of his jurisdiction. Under this appointment Aguirre was to be "captain-general and governor of the said city of Barco and La Serena and their territories and the other cities that had been founded, or that you may found, in that region, within the limits of my grant." [2]

After his return from Peru, Valdivia entered upon his campaigns against the Araucanians, looking forward to the execution of his plan to extend his conquests to the southern end of the continent. In these years the colony received numerous additions from Peru, which made it possible for the governor to found the cities of Concepcion, Imperial, and Valdivia. The success achieved by Pizarro in dealing with the dependent and feebler Indians of the Inca's dominions did not furnish a reliable guide to be followed in proceeding against the Indians of the south. Valdivia was apparently ignorant of the force of resistance he was to encounter. Even on the eve of the battle of Tucapel he had little or no knowledge of the numbers and discipline of the enemy that was awaiting his attack, and that finally overwhelmed him and his followers. He died, not on the field, as a soldier who faces his end might wish to die, but after prolonged tortures invented by cruel and outraged savages.

[1] *El Conquistador Francisco de Aguirre*, 92.

[2] Decree appointing Aguirre Governor of Tucuman, printed by Lezaeta, 94–6.

Valdivia left no heirs on whom the achievements of an heroic ancestor might reflect distinction. His wife, whom he had left in Spain in 1535, informed that the war was over, embarked for America, expecting a large measure of satisfaction from the triumph and high position of her husband. She arrived at Nombre de Dios in the middle of 1554, to find her husband dead and the castle of her imagination destroyed.[1]

III

The interior of the continent, the territory of Bolivia and the central and north-western part of the territory of the Argentine Republic, was explored and occupied by expeditions proceeding from Peru and Chile. The first efforts to possess this region and bring the inhabitants into subjection to the Spaniards were not strikingly successful. La Plata was founded, and Diego de Rojas and his associates engaged in various conflicts with the natives, and explored some part of the Gran Chaco, but under them we observe only the feeblest beginnings of civilisation. For several years after them, the country offered no effective attraction to Spanish settlers. In 1549 Pedro de la Gasca, seeking to bestow suitable rewards upon his adherents, after the suppression of Gonzalo Pizarro's rebellion, appointed Juan Nuñez de Prado to the governorship of Tucuman, which was a region of indefinite boundaries, but which was generally conceived to embrace the territory of the southern part of Bolivia and of the northern part of the Argentine Republic.

In going to establish himself at his new post, Nuñez de Prado passed through the valleys of Tupiza, Jujuy, and Chicoana, and fixed upon a site that might serve as the seat of his government. This was near the river Es-

[1] "Relación hecha por Pedro de Valdivia al Emperador dándole cuenta de lo sucedido en el descubrimiento, conquista y poblacion de Chile y en su viaje al Peru," *Doc. inéd.*, iv. 5–77, 78–84.

caba, somewhat west of the place where the city of Santiago del Estero was subsequently built. He gave the name of Barco to the town which he founded, thinking thereby to do honour to Barco de Avila in Spain, the birthplace of Pedro de la Gasca. Here he built a fort, gathered recruits from some of the settlements of Upper Peru, and made preparations to "pacify and convert" the Indians. The attack made by some of the followers of Prado on the troops of Villagra, who was passing through this region on the way to Chile, was an unpromising beginning. It introduced hostilities between the settlers of Chile and the newly-arrived inhabitants of Tucuman.

Inasmuch as Prado was established in Tucuman by President Gasca, he naturally regarded the government of Peru as his political superior. But Valdivia held that this territory lay within the limits of his jurisdiction, and in order to realise this view in practice, he appointed Francisco de Aguirre to take possession of Tucuman. By the 8th of November 1552, Aguirre, who was then in Chile, was ready to begin his march across the Andes; and in December he was at Barco. When he reached the settlement, Nuñez de Prado was absent, but he arrested him on his return, and sent him as prisoner to Chile. A number of Prado's men were also taken and sent to Lima. In this way the province of Tucuman passed under the authority of the new governor, and its officers were thus brought to recognise the superiority of the Chilean government.

In so far as Prado had a recognisable policy, it aimed to develop civilisation among the Indians by peaceful means. The change of governors brought to the colony the energetic administration of Aguirre, which Paul Groussac describes as a reign of terror.[1] The new governor introduced the system of encomiendas, and distributed the natives among fifty-six of his adherents. In this respect, he made his policy conform to the policy generally carried out at that time in Spanish America.

[1] *Memoria de la Provincia de Tucuman*, 38.

But here, as in all cases where Europeans have established colonies among tribes of the less developed races, there were two parties to be satisfied. The colonists were pleased with the interest, zeal, and judgment displayed by Aguirre in their behalf, but the Indians found his rule oppressive and cruel.

Aguirre's treatment of the Indians provoked rebellion; and when the colonists, considering the great number of the enemy, found it impossible to withstand them, they abandoned the town of Barco, and retired beyond the river Dulce, where, in 1553, they founded the town of Santiago del Estero. In view of the hostile relations thus established between the Spaniards and the Indians, there appeared to be no alternative to the arbitrary exercise of force, and the Spaniards very naturally adopted the policy of repression which had been carried out elsewhere.

In view of the large expenditures from his own funds which Aguirre had made in planting and maintaining the colony, and the approval of his administration which the colonists had expressed, it was natural that he should be moved by the aspiration to be independent of Valdivia, and to be brought as governor of Tucuman directly under the king. Therefore, in a letter to Charles V, December 23, 1553, he recalled to the mind of the monarch the twenty years of service which he had given to the conquest of Peru and Cuzco; the colonisation of the Charcas, which he had ruled and governed for two years under the command of Pizarro; the mines he had discovered; the conquest and pacification of Chile; and, finally, the maintenance of the province of Tucuman, where he then was. In all of these undertakings he had expended a large amount of his own property; and in consequence he asked the emperor to bestow upon him Tucuman with the other favours which the emperor was accustomed to confer upon his loyal vassals.[1]

[1] Lezaeta, *El Conquistador Francisco de Aguirre*, 124. See *Francisco de Aguirre en Tucuman*, a document containing abundant evidence

Aguirre had been at the head of the affairs of the colony in Tucuman about a year and a half when messengers from Chile brought to him news of the death of Valdivia. They brought also letters from Aguirre's friends in Chile, suggesting that he should assume the office made vacant by Valdivia's death. This suggestion was based on the fact that Valdivia's will named the persons to whom, in order, the office should descend. These were Jerónimo de Alderete, Francisco de Aguirre, and Francisco de Villagra. Alderete was then in Spain, and the authority seemed to fall very naturally to Aguirre. Therefore, in 1554, he returned to Chile, and many of the colonists, who were anxious to leave Tucuman, found in the absence of the governor a pretext for abandoning the proposed conquest. Some of them went to Chile, and others found their way back to Peru.[1]

concerning Juan Nuñez de Prado and the advent and character of Francisco de Aguirre, published by José Toribio Medina, Santiago de Chile, 1896; also *Juan Nuñez de Prado y Francisco de Villagran en la cuidad del Barco*, published by José Toribio Medina, Santiago de Chile, 1896.

[1] Funes, *Ensayo historico*, i. 109.

CHAPTER XII

THE EARLY SETTLERS OF RIO DE LA PLATA

I. Solis and Cabot. II. Mendoza's settlement at Buenos Aires. III. The foundation of Asuncion in Paraguay. IV. The Chronicle of the governors of Asuncion.

I

WHILE Pizarro and his associates were laying the foundation of Spanish authority in Peru, Chile, and Tucuman, other Spaniards were establishing settlements on the Rio de la Plata and the Paraguay. The explorers of this region, in the first half of the sixteenth century, like many of the other explorers of the eastern coast of America, hoped to find a passage through the newly-discovered continent to the lands of the Far East. Juan Diaz de Solis had this end in view when he entered the Rio de la Plata, where he was murdered by the Indians in 1516.[1] Sebastian Cabot was in pursuit of the same object when he explored this region ten years later, in 1526. He constructed two small vessels, and prepared to ascend the river; but, as he proceeded into the narrow waters, the hope of reaching the Pacific by this route vanished. At the mouth of the Carcarañal he landed and formed the community called San Espiritu, the first Spanish settlement in this part of America. He left a number of men here, and continued his voyage of exploration towards the north. He went first up the Paraná about one hundred and fifty miles beyond its junction with the Paraguay; then having returned to the confluence of these two great rivers, he ascended the Paraguay above the site

[1] Medina, J. T., *Juan Diaz de Solis*, i. cclxxxiii.

on which was later founded the city of Asuncion. The hope of making this stream the highway over which should be carried the silver from Peru, induced Cabot to send messengers to Spain for further assistance. But this region, however fertile its soil and salubrious its climate, had few attractions for the Spaniards, and news from it aroused in them no enthusiasm. They were not anxious to possess lands which offered wealth only as the reward of the patient and persistent labour of the herdsman and the agriculturist; consequently the reinforcements which Cabot asked for were never received. In 1530 Cabot returned to Spain to impress upon the king the importance of the territory he had added to the possessions of the crown. His services were recognised; he was raised again to the position of chief pilot; and in this office he continued, for the remaining thirty years of his life, the general director of Spanish expeditions to foreign lands.[1]

While Cabot was making his explorations, the delayed expedition of Diego García arrived, but the leader, finding the field occupied by one who was not disposed to make concessions to a rival, soon returned to Spain.[2]

The colony which Cabot had established at San Espiritu had the hard fate that attended all of the early attempts to occupy the region of Rio de la Plata. The

[1] Medina, José Toribio, *El Veneciano Sebastián Caboto al Servicio de España*, two volumes quarto, Santiago de Chile, 1908. Vol. i. 1–413 text; 415–549 documents; 551–608 Bibliografía Hispano-Cabotiana. Vol. ii. 1–597 documents. The bibliography by Medina is in large part additional to the *Cabot Bibliography* (London, 1900), by George Parker Winship. Funes, *Ensayo de la Historia civil de Buenos Aires, Tucuman y Paraguay* (Buenos Aires, 1856), i, 1–3; Lettre de Louis Ramirez on Sebastian Cabot, Melanges sur Amerique, Nat. Lib. Paris (P. Angrand, 1373).

[2] See Medina, J. T., *Los Viages de Diego Garcia de Moguer al Rio de la Plata* (Santiago de Chile, 1908). García left Coruña August 15, 1527. —Medina, *Diego Garcia*, 94. For an account of the controversy between García and Cabot, see *ibid.* cap. ix. Cabot "alegaba que él tenia la primacia en el descubrimiento del rio, y que, asi, aquella conquista era suya, ordenando á García que saliese."—*Ibid.*, 121.

company left at this settlement by Cabot on his return to Spain, according to Diaz de Guzman, consisted of one hundred and ten soldiers, in charge of Captain Nuño de Lara, and many other persons, including a number of women. In the absence of forty members of the company, who had gone to a neighbouring island for food, in 1532, the Indians stormed the fort, and killed all the occupants except the women, who were carried away as captives. When the forty soldiers who had been absent returned to the scene of the massacre, they buried the victims and abandoned the place.[1]

II

Although Cabot's account of his discoveries did not persuade the king to furnish means for extending them, it was nevertheless influential in moving Don Pedro de Mendoza to undertake the colonisation of this new country. Mendoza was a nobleman of the emperor's household, who had won wealth and distinction as a soldier in the Italian wars. The supposed proximity of the valley of La Plata to the riches of Peru helped to convince the Council of the Indies that it was desirable to plant new colonies in this region as well as to maintain the one already established. But the necessary funds were wanting, and Mendoza offered to meet the expenses of an expedition, provided the king would confer upon him the title of adelantado, and make him governor of the region he was to occupy. The privileges which he demanded were granted to him and to the successor whom he might designate. On his part, Mendoza promised to take with him one thousand men, a certain number of ecclesiastics, who should labour for the conversion of the Indians; and also one hundred horses and one hundred

[1] Pedro de Angelis, *Colección de obras y documentos*, i. 25–28; Funes, *Ensayo historico*, i. 9–14.

mares.[1] The contract between Charles V and Mendoza provided, moreover, "that the ransom of any foreign sovereign who might be captured, though by law all belonging to the emperor, should be divided among the conquerors, reserving to the crown only the royal fifth."[2]

The grant to Mendoza[3] was not greatly unlike the charters of commercial corporations in later times. The holder sought to induce others to take stock in the enterprise, and pointed to the as yet unaccumulated funds as the source of salaries and dividends.[4] At the outset he assigned to himself an annual salary of two thousand ducats, and to others compensation in keeping with the positions occupied. Don Juan de Osorio was general in-chief; Diego de Mendoza, brother of the adelantado, was admiral of the fleet; Juan de Ayolas was chief constable; and George Mendoza and Ilrich Schmidel were commanders of infantry. The prestige of this expedition and the expectations which it awakened, induced more persons to apply for enlistment than Mendoza was able to accept. When the fleet finally set sail from the port of San Lucar, on the 1st of September 1534, it carried not merely the stipulated one thousand, but two thousand five hundred persons, of whom one hundred and fifty were Germans, and the rest Spaniards.[5]

[1] Arcos, *La Plata*, 89; Pelliza, *Historia Argentina*, i. 58.

[2] Washburn, *History of Paraguay*, i. 15.

[3] *Doc. inéd.*, xxii. 350–60.

[4] Medina, *Diego Garcia*, cap. v., vi.

[5] Ulrich Schmidel's account of this expedition is accessible in several languages. It was written in German, and the first edition, in two parts, was published at Frankfort-on-the-Main in 1567. A translation in Latin appeared in Nuremberg in 1599. A Spanish translation under the title *Viaje al Rio de la Plata*, was issued at Buenos Aires in 1903, by the *Junta de Historia y Numismatica Americana*. The translation is preceded by Bartolomé Mitre's Biographical and Bibliographical Notes, and by an elaborate introduction written by Samuel A. Lafone Quevado. The Hakluyt Society's edition in English is of the year 1891; and a recent German edition was published at Tubingen in 1889. Of some of the other editions an account is given by Juan Maria Gutierrez in *Revista del Rio de la Plata*, vi. 3–72.

The jealousy which arose among the members of this expedition during the voyage had a lamentable outcome in the assassination of Osorio. After this event, the fleet went on to its destination, but, through the death of Osorio, the colony had lost its most important guarantee of success. A landing was effected at the site of the present capital of the Argentine Republic, and in the beginning of 1535 a town was founded under the name of Santa Maria de Buenos Aires. A governor and judges were appointed by the leader, and a municipal organisation was created, but the expected prosperity was not attained. The stock of provisions was scanty, and the supply provided by the Indians was inadequate and uncertain. The hostility which appeared between the Indians and the Spaniards cut off this supply entirely. Insufficient food and unaccustomed exposure prepared the way for famine and pestilence, which rapidly diminished the ranks of the settlers. Of the two thousand five hundred colonists who came with Mendoza, there were only six or seven hundred survivors three years after their landing.[1]

[1] The fourth canto of *La Argentina* deals with this phase of the colony's experience:

" La gente ya comienza á enflaquecerse
Las raciones se acortan cada dia,
No puede el padre el hijo socorrerse,
Que cada cual su muerte mas temia.
. . . . . .
" Un hecho horrendo, digo lastimoso,
Aquí sucede: estaban dos hermanos;
De hambre el uno muere, y el rabioso
Que vivo está, le saca los livianos
Y bofes y asadura, y muy gozoso
Los cuece en una olla por su manos,
Y cómelos; y cuerpo se comiera,
Si la muerte del muerte se encubriera.

" Comienzan a morir todos rabiando,
Los rostros y los ojos consumidos;
A los niños que mueren sollozando
Las madres les respondencon gemidos.

III

At this time the colonists in the valley of the Rio de la Plata were distributed in three divisions: those who were at Buenos Aires; those at San Espiritu; and those who had gone northward with Ayolas in search of a way across the continent to Peru. San Espiritu, which had been devastated and abandoned, had been repeopled from Buenos Aires under the orders of Mendoza. In January, 1538, it was determined to gather together the remnants of the several settlements, and form a new colony. These earliest settlements were, therefore, deserted, and Asuncion, in Paraguay, was established. Isolated in the interior of the continent, and neglected by the mother country, the colonists at Asuncion undertook the management of their own affairs. Ayolas, who had been made the successor of Mendoza on the latter's return to Spain, had perished in the wilderness. In order, therefore, to provide a leader, or head, for the colony, recourse was had to an election by the members. Authority for this action was contained in the decree of Charles V, dated at Valladolid, September 12, 1537. With Ayolas's commission, there had been sent from Spain letters-patent based on this decree, which provided for the election of a successor to Ayolas in case of his continued absence. An addition of two hundred recruits was made to the colony; they were under the joint control of the veedor, Alonso de Cabrera, and Ruiz de Galan.

El pueblo sin ventura lamentando,
A Dios envia suspiros doloridos:
Gritan viejos y mozos, damas bellas,
Perturban con clamores las estrellas."

La Argentina is printed in the second volume of Pedro de Angelis' *Colección de Obras y Documentos*. A study of the author, Martin del Barco Centenera, and his work, by Juan Maria Gutierrez, may be found in *Revista del Rio de la Plata*, vi. 287–334, 358–409, 648–689,; vii. 111–137, 337–361; xii. 610–639.

On discovering the state of things at Buenos Aires, they determined to pass on to Asuncion, where they found, on their arrival, that the colonists had taken advantage of their privilege, and elected Martinez de Irala to be their governor. They had organised a municipal administration, assigned lots to the settlers, constructed a church and other buildings, and placed a Franciscan monk in charge of the ecclesiastical affairs.

The rule of Irala is significant on account of the relations which he established between the Spaniards and the Indians, which were of such a nature as in a large measure to determine the character of the population of Paraguay. In dealing with the Indians he decreed "certain laws which continued to exist long after him, in spite of the contrary regulations of the mother country." Under these laws, "any Spaniard might undertake the conquest of a tribe and become its master, holding it under the title of encomienda."[1] In case the individual "conqueror's" power was inadequate to the undertaking, the government might lend its aid; and the Indians thus brought into subjection were distributed among the soldiers as mitayos and yanaconas.[2]

[1] Arcos, *La Plata*, 105.

[2] The yanaconas were Indians who, or whose fathers, had left the repartimiento, or the province, where they were born, and had been taken into the service of a Spaniard, and had become permanently attached to the land or the service of a master. They might be employed on the chácaras (small plantations); in the houses of the Spaniards; in the mines, as in Potosi or Porco; or in the mountains, gathering the coca leaves. See Juan Matienzo, *Gobierno del Perú*, Buenos Aires, 1910, chap. viii. The licenciado, Juan Matienzo, went to America in 1560, under appointment as judge of the audiencia of Charcas, and while acting in this capacity, prior to 1573, he wrote the *Gobierno del Perú*. The manuscript, the two parts here published, found its way to the British Museum, and remained unpublished until 1910, when it was issued under the auspices of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of Buenos Aires, and was edited by a descendant of the author, Dr. José Nicolas Matienzo, whose work, *El Gobierno Representativo Federal en la Republica Argentina*, was published in 1910. The writings of Juan Martienzo are frequently cited by Solórzano in his *Politica Indiana*.

In organising the Indians under the control of the Spaniards in America, the king and the Council of the Indies were often led by their ideal to run counter to the interests of the actual settlers. They proposed that the first settler, the "conqueror," should pass his encomienda on by inheritance to his heir, but that, at the end of the second life, the Indians should be free; that they should then work on their own account, but should be subject to a moderate tribute, or poll-tax. The Indians of this region, who had hitherto been nomadic, were to be compelled to adopt a settled life, to construct houses for themselves, and to submit to the municipal organisation of a village or a town. This plan provided for the appointment of a corregidor to administer justice, while the general affairs of the town were to be controlled by an ayuntamiento composed of two alcades and regidores. These settlements, although composed exclusively of Indians, were ordered in the form of Spanish municipalities.[1] This plan encountered two objections. In the first place, to remove the Indians from the control of the encomendero at the expiration of the second life would involve the termination of whatever enterprises in agriculture, mining, or other industry had been carried on by the labour of the Indians, for the simple reason that the Indians would not work voluntarily, and there were no other labourers available. In the second place, the Indians were not far enough advanced in civilisation to maintain and govern themselves in towns, without the effective direction and supervision of civilised persons. They had previously gained their living while having a free range of the country; they had had no experience of living under the conditions proposed.

The Guarani Indians were generally friendly, and relations were formed between them and the Spaniards which appeared to Guevara as scandalous. It is some-

[1] Azara, *Descripcion é Historia del Paraguay y del Rio de la Plata*, i. 253.

times said that the colonists established polygamy, and that an agreement, or treaty, was made with the Indians, in accordance with which they should grant to the governor seven wives, and to each of the soldiers two. Irala espoused the seven daughters of the principal chief, and in his will "he declared that he had taken the seven daughters of the cacique as wives, and requested that the children whom he had had by them should be considered as Spaniards."[1] Through this extensive mingling of the blood of the two races, and the predominance of the Indian stock, the population of Paraguay became characterised by Indian rather than by Spanish traits.

IV

The first period of Irala's government ended in 1542, when he was succeeded by Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, who arrived in Asuncion accompanied by about four hundred men, with whom he proposed to make new conquests in the region of the Rio de la Plata. His instructions enjoined, among other things, that he should use great care to propagate the Christian religion; that he should take with him no advocates or solicitors; that the Spaniards and Indians should be permitted to trade freely with one another, without any interference on the part of the authorities; and that the captains should act as judges in all cases, but that there might be an appeal to the adelantado, and in the last resort to the Council of the Indies. On his arrival at Asuncion, Cabeza de Vaca was recognised by the colonists as the head of all the Spanish establishments in this

[1] Arcos, 100. Guevara's statement of the case is as follows: "Para todo ayudaron los Guaranís amigos, tan escrupulosos en la observancia de las capitulaciones, que excedian los términos de la obligación, y tan obsequiosos en el agasajo de los españoles, que ofrecian sus hijas para el servicio, y con ellas pasaron la vida en concubinatos escandalosos muchos años" (Angelis, *Colección de Obras y Documentos*, ii. 96).

part of America, while Irala, as maestre de campo, held the second place. Under his administration, the neighbouring Indians were subdued, and the material prosperity of the colony was increased; but Asuncion became divided into two factions. Those who had come to America with Mendoza, and who, under Irala, had founded Asuncion, stood in opposition to those who had arrived later under Cabeza de Vaca. The severity of Cabeza de Vaca's administration tended to confirm his opponents in their opposition, and to weaken the allegiance of his followers. His attempts to abolish polygamy in the colony, and to prevent the ill-treatment of the Indians by those holding encomiendas, and other real or fancied grievances, led to his accusation and transportation to Spain for trial. He arrived in Seville in 1544, and, after years of waiting for a decision, a decree of exile to Africa was pronounced against him. Three years later, however, the decree was reversed, and the exile was recalled. Although his privileges were restored to him, he died before reaping any further advantage from them.

The prosperity of Paraguay during the first decade after the establishment of Asuncion suggested the desirability of giving it individuality in the ecclesiastical organisation. In response to a request from the Spanish court, the pope created the bishopric of Paraguay, and appointed Juan de Barrios of Toledo bishop. By reason of old age and ill-health, Bishop Barrios never assumed the duties of his charge in America. In 1555, Pedro de la Torre was appointed the second bishop of the new diocese, and immediately proceeded to take up his residence in Paraguay. His jurisdiction extended over the whole valley of La Plata; and the establishment of a centre of ecclesiastical authority here helped to make Paraguay independent of the viceroy of Peru and the audiencia of Charcas. After the division of this region into two provinces, in 1617, another bishopric was created, covering the province of Buenos Aires, thus materially

limiting the territorial jurisdiction of the bishop of Paraguay.

After the departure of Cabeza de Vaca, Irala was elected governor of the colony for the second time, and later was confirmed by the crown in the exercise of his functions, under the title of adelantado. He died in 1557, having nominated Gonzalo Mendoza as his successor. On the death of Mendoza, the next year, the colony had recourse once more to a popular vote, and elected Vergara governor. But not satisfied with the title conveyed by the election, Vergara sought, at the hands of the viceroy, the royal confirmation of the powers which he exercised by the will of the people. With this design, he went to Lima, but the fact of a popular election had little weight with the viceroy, who passed over the claims of Vergara and nominated one of his officers, Juan Ortiz de Zárate, adelantado of Paraguay. Wishing the direct approval of the crown, Zárate went to Spain, appointing Cáceres as deputy at Asuncion to act in his absence. This violation of the clearly expressed wish of the colonists revived the partisan conflicts which had filled the settlement with confusion in the time of Irala and Cabeza de Vaca. Bishop Torre led the friends of Vergara, and organised a conspiracy which resulted in embarking Cáceres for Spain. Confusion and anarchy followed, which were not allayed even by the arrival of Zárate with full powers derived directly from the crown. The new governor had engaged to introduce into the colony two hundred families, three hundred soldiers, four thousand cows, four thousand sheep, three hundred goats, and three hundred mares. In recognition of this obligation he had been made governor of the lands discovered by Cabot, with the right to appoint his successor. Before his death in 1575, in accordance with this last provision, he designated as his successor the person who should marry a daughter whom he had left at Chuquisaca. This proved to be

Juan Torrés de Véra y Aragon. Not wishing to take up the reins of government till he should be able to fulfil the obligations under which Zárate had been appointed, Véra delegated his authority to Juan de Garay, under the title of lieutenant-governor and captain-general of Rio de la Plata. In 1576, Garay entered upon the performance of his duties, and continued to control the affairs of the settlements until he was killed by the Indians in 1584. Under him many colonies were established in different parts of the territory which later belonged to the Argentine Republic. Those which were founded in the north-western part of this region derived their authority from the viceroy of Peru. Of these early foundations in the north, Tucuman and Santiago remain, while many of them have disappeared. But the most important of the settlements made by migration from the west was Cordova, founded in 1573, by Gerónimo Luis Cabrera. Cabrera's grant was received from the viceroy, Francisco de Toledo, and extended eastward to the river Paraná, and included both banks. The same day on which Cabrera founded Cordova, with the authority of the viceroy, Juan de Garay, under the authority of the governor of Asuncion, established the city of Santa Fé, on territory included in Cabrera's grant. This conflict of claims was, however, set aside by Zárate's confirmation of Garay's pretensions, and the withdrawal of Cabrera to Cordova.

The most important event in the history of this region during the later decades of the century was the refounding of Buenos Aires, in 1580, by Juan de Garay. Besides the hostility of the Indians, Garay had to contend with a rebellion at Santa Fé. The leaders of this movement sought to overcome any reluctance which the citizens might have to participating in the revolt by publishing frequently the statement that a rebellion ceased to be a crime as soon as it became successful. In order to be secure on the side of Tucuman, they sought to take

advantage of Governor Abreu's known hostility to Garay. Although Abreu was not disposed to assume the position of an open ally, the emissaries sent to confer with him at Cordova were convinced that that province would offer no embarrassment in their enterprise. The project of the insurgents was, however, ruined by the lack of harmony among the leaders. As the pious Funes remarks: "It is not easy to preserve harmony that is founded on crime." [1]

The Indians who had shown themselves hostile to Garay were finally defeated, and submitted to the Spaniards; yet their submission was not so complete as to prevent them from taking any safe advantage that might be offered. Such an advantage presented itself when Garay was passing up the Paraná. Proceeding up the river in boats, he camped at night on the land near the bank of the stream, without posting sentinels or taking any adequate provisions for his safety. A cacique, with one hundred and thirty followers, who had observed this lack of precaution, fell upon the Spaniards while they slept, and killed Garay and forty of his soldiers. The inhabitants of the province bewailed the loss of Garay as irreparable, and saw among their number no one who might properly fill his place. In fact, the history of the province presents no one, except Irala, who may be regarded as his rival in distinction, or in ability as a colonial leader and organiser.

During the period between the death of Garay and the arrival of Véra, there was manifest among the settlements a strong particularistic spirit. In want of a recognised central authority, the disrupting forces of anarchism, strengthened by the isolation of the several

[1] *Ensayo*, i. 180. In 1537 five mares and seven stallions were abandoned by the first settlers at Buenos Aires. When the town was re-established in 1580, the descendants of these animals were found to exist in great numbers. The soldiers of Garay captured some of them, and were thus the first to break them and bring them into use.

colonies, were conspicuously revealed. Véra, however, succeeded in restoring order; but four years after his arrival, he abandoned the government and went to Spain. After Torrés de Véra, it became customary for the governor to share his authority with a deputy.

"The jurisdiction of the deputies of the governor did not extend beyond the districts of the city for which they were severally appointed, including the settled surrounding country; and each city within the territory of the governor had one of these deputies. The governors as well as their deputies exercised the functions of justicia mayor, and the latter were the immediate military chiefs of their districts." [1]

These officers served for periods of different lengths, being appointed for no predetermined terms. Certain matters of local administration were in the hands of the cabildos, or municipal councils. These bodies performed the ordinary functions of municipal corporations, their alcaldes administering justice in the first instance. The revenues were, however, managed by the royal officials, who also acted as judges in cases relating to these matters. The duties of police in the country were performed by *alcaldes de hermandad*, while these duties in the cities were performed by other appropriate subordinates.

After the final retirement of Véra (1587 to 1591), recourse was had once more to an election, which resulted in the choice of Hernando Arias de Saavedra, a native of Asuncion, for governor. This time the wish of the inhabitants was regarded, and Saavedra's election was confirmed by the crown. He held the headship of the province from 1591 to 1593, when the viceroy of Peru appointed Fernando de Zárate to be his successor. In the brief period of Zárate's rule, England sent three ships with the purpose of taking possession of the city of Buenos

[1] Zinny, *Historia de los Gobernadores de las Provincias Argentinas*, i. xv.

Aires. This early undertaking of the English is noteworthy, in view of their later attempts to bring this rich region under their authority. Zárate died in 1595, and was succeeded by Juan Ramirez de Velasco (1595 to 1597). Velasco had been viceroy of Mexico and Peru, President of the Council of the Indies, governor of Tucuman, and admiral of the South Sea. After a brief rule of two years, he returned, in 1597, to Tucuman, and died there in 1606. Saavedra came to power a second time in 1597, and yielded the governorship in 1599 to Rodriguez de Valdes, who had been appointed by the king.

Under Governor Valdes, the ecclesiastical and political authorities were in conflict. The commands of the governor, limiting the action of the bishop, Thomas Vasquez de Liaño, were overruled by the king, who approved and confirmed the decision of the audiencia of Charcas. Under this governor also, in 1601, appeared the first physician and the first schoolmaster at Buenos Aires. Don Manuel Alvarez presented to the municipal council his credentials, asking that his salary for rendering medical aid to the inhabitants might be fixed, the patients themselves being required to pay for the medicines and all other necessary materials. At this time also Francisco Victoria asked the municipal council to assign him a house where he might establish a school. Hitherto, for a period of twenty years after its foundation, the town of Buenos Aires had been without the means of public instruction. The plan now proposed by Victoria involved a monthly tuition of from one to two dollars for each child instructed.

The annals of the early settlements of Paraguay and the region of La Plata appear to be barren when compared with those of New Granada and Peru. Many circumstances combined to produce this result. The crown was not disposed to encourage the foundation and the development of colonies in this part of America, after it had become evident that they could not make

important contributions to the royal treasury. Persons proposing to go to the New World did not look with favour on a region that possessed no accumulations or mines of the precious metals. They were attracted rather to the countries which figured in the stories of abundant wealth that were carried across the Atlantic, and told in every part of Spain. They had no mind to spend the amount of money necessary for the voyage and endure its wearisome inconveniences simply for the sake of devoting themselves to agriculture or the monotonous occupations of pastoral life. Therefore, after the first explorations had made known the character of the country, and shown that there were no rich kingdoms to be plundered and no princes to be captured and ransomed, the Argentine plains and the lands about the great rivers of the south seemed to present no field for the adventurous emigrant. The determination of the crown to hold Rio de la Plata as a closed port, admitting only two small vessels yearly, excluded all but a very limited immigration, and thus threw the colony upon its own resources in an uncultivated wilderness, and made its growth largely dependent upon its natural increase. This natural increment consisted, moreover, in large part of mestizos, whose impulses towards civilisation were hardly stronger than their impulses to perpetuate the spirit and circumstances of their barbarous ancestors. These and other facts relating to the early history of Paraguay sufficiently account for a lack of movement and development in the colony, and for its failure to become an important factor in the planting and spread of European civilisation in South America.

CHAPTER XIII

THE NEW LAWS AND CIVIL WAR

I. Early phases of the system of encomiendas. II. The New Laws. III. Gonzalo Pizarro's rebellion and civil war. IV. Gasca's mission.

I

OVER all the communities, whose origin has been described in the preceding pages, Spain established the authority of a viceroy; and the first officer of this rank for South America was despatched to introduce the reform proposed through the New Laws. These laws aimed to ameliorate the condition of the Indians, whose fate under the servitude of the repartimientos had called forth protests from many persons, but especially from Bartolomé de las Casas. This form of subjection was introduced by the discoverers of America; for when Columbus found that the tribute which he had imposed upon the natives in the provinces of Vega and Cibao, in Española, could not be collected regularly, he ordered that in certain places manual labour should be accepted instead of tribute. Under this order the Indians were required to work on the lands of the Spaniards; and this was the beginning of the system of encomiendas and repartimientos in America.[1]

It was the opinion of the Court of Spain that the Indians should be free; but Nicolas de Ovando, who was governor of Española from 1502 until 1509, affirmed that if the Indians were free, they would keep aloof from

[1] *The New Laws of the Indies* (London, 1893), Stevens' Introduction, xxxiv.; Mendiburu, ii. 293; Solórzano, *Política Indiana*, lib. iii. cap. i., par. 3–10; Irving, *Life and Voyages of Columbus*, 314.

the Spaniards, and that under these conditions it would be impossible to give them instruction in the Holy Catholic Faith. The king was evidently moved by the arguments of the governor, for in 1503 he ordered him to make the Indians trade with the Spaniards and work for them; and the Spaniards were to decide when it was necessary to require this labour. They were at the same time required to teach the Indians the Christian doctrines, and treat them as free persons and not as serfs. While all should be treated well, the Christians among them should be treated with greater favour than the rest. Ovando distributed the Indians among his countrymen, and it was expected that the Indians would be paid; but, in fact, their compensation, whenever they received any, was small. Their labour was severe, their food inadequate, and their religious instruction almost entirely neglected. The result was a régime of misery and starvation, with a rapid depopulation of the districts occupied by the Spaniards.

The three Dominican friars, Pedro de Cordova, Antonio de Montesinos, and Bernardo de San Domingo, who arrived in Santo Domingo in 1510, made a vigorous protest against the treatment which the Indians received, and became their persistent defenders. Fray Antonio preached against the conduct of the Spaniards and the institution of repartimientos, and naturally provoked the indignant resentment of all persons who were deriving profit from the labour of the Indians.[1] The protests reached even the ears of the king, and were heard in the meetings of the junta of Burgos. But that body consisting of the advisers of the king on American affairs and a number of theologians and lawyers, concluded, "that in view of the Apostolic Grace and Donation, the Indians ought to be given in repartimientos, and that it was in agreement with Divine and Human Right."

[1] Humbert, *Les origines vénézuéliennes*, 206–8; Rojas, A., *Estudios históricos*, 43; Quintana, *Obras*, 438–40.

"The Laws of Burgos," founded on the conclusions of this junta, were proclaimed at Burgos, December 12, 1512.

Under the system of encomiendas it was provided that the encomendero, or holder of the grant, might receive the services of Indians or tribute from them. The Indians who were placed under the obligation to render services or to pay tribute, were assigned to persons in the Indies, and these persons were charged with the duty of providing for the well-being of the Indians commended to them. They were also expected to inhabit and defend the provinces in which they exercised the rights of encomenderos. The requirement that the Indians should be instructed in the "faith of the Holy Catholic Church" was from the first treated as a mere formality, and had little or no influence in determining conduct.

The conclusions reached at Burgos furnish the most elaborate early statement of the views of the king and his advisers respecting this system: Encomenderos should supply Indians assigned to them with food; should build houses for them; and the houses which the Indians had in their own settlements should then be destroyed, thus removing from the owners the desire to return to them. The Indians should be taught the Christian doctrine; an encomendero having fifty or more Indians should be obliged to teach a lad to read and write, so that he might instruct the others; and when any Indian should arrive at the age of puberty, he should be made to confess, if he knew how to do so, and, if not, he should be assisted, and taught the creed and prayers. Encomenderos should be obliged to have the children baptized eight days after birth. The sons of the caciques, from thirteen years old and under, should be given to the Franciscan friars, and should be kept by them for four years. The friars should have them taught the Christian faith and reading and writing, and

they should return them afterwards to the persons who had given them. In order that the Latin grammar might be taught to the sons of the caciques, the king ordered the Bachelor Herman Juarez to go to the Indies, and it was provided that his salary should be paid from the royal revenues. No one should employ the Indians to carry burdens; and the Indians who had to be employed in digging gold, should be continued in this occupation for five months in the year, and at the expiration of this period they should take their ease for forty days, and during these forty days no one might require any Indian, who was not a slave, to dig gold. The Indians should be persuaded to marry, but made to understand that they could have no more than one wife, and that she must not be a kinswoman within the fourth degree. Pregnant women should not be employed in any kind of labour; encomenderos should not avail themselves of the Indians of other repartimientos; and they should be obliged to give an account of all the Indians who were born or who died in their repartimientos. No one should strike with a stick or whip, or should imprison, an Indian, but when an Indian should deserve punishment, he should be taken before one of the inspectors, of whom there should be two in each town. These inspectors, whose duty it should be to see that these and other ordinances were observed, should be nominated by the admiral and by the royal officials from the most pious and honest men in the colony. The inspectors, two at a time and not one alone, should make two visits each year; and they should not take to their homes runaway or lost Indians, but should deposit them until they should return them to their owners.[1]

These provisions framed by the junta assembled at Burgos are an indication of the early designs and ambitions of the king and his advisers with respect to the social organisation of Spain's expanding possessions.

[1] Herrera, *Historia de las Indias occidentales* (Madrid, 1730), i. 256.

But the actual practice of the later decades departed widely from these injunctions. In granting lands to Spaniards, action was had under the assumption that the king was primarily the owner of all the land in Spanish America, and that every legitimate claim to any portion of these lands must rest on an original concession by the crown.[1]

Whatever may have been the wishes of the crown as to the spread of this system, it became clear very early that the great advantage of it for the conquerors or colonists made inevitable its extension from the islands, where it originated, to the conquered lands of the continent. But the evils attending it very soon aroused a party demanding its abolition. Las Casas, who had a repartimiento in Cuba, became the leader of this party. Having become convinced of the injustice of the system, and of the cruelties that appeared to be practically inseparable from it, he abandoned his property and sailed for Spain in 1515. Before the king, he advocated the cause of emancipation, and thus began his activity as the champion of the liberty of the Indians, to which he devoted his marvellous energy during the rest of his life. The first years of his agitation appeared to have no influence, except to bring upon himself storms of abuse from persons who thought their interests depended on the maintenance of some form of slavery or serfdom. In the meantime, in the islands, in Mexico, and in Peru, the system of repartimientos became accepted by the majority of the European inhabitants as a necessary and normal feature of the new society.[2]

By an order dated July 26, 1523, the crown undertook to forbid the granting of repartimientos in Mexico, and to revoke those already granted; but the political and

[1] An account of the distribution of the Indians of Española, together with the *ordenanzas* of Burgos limiting the number that might be held by one person, is given in *Documentos inéditos*, i. 50–241.

[2] "Representación hecha al Rey por el clérigo Bartolomé de las Casas," *Doc. inéd.*, vii. 5–13, 14–15.

economic interests of Cortes and his followers constituted an obstruction which could not readily be removed. In view of remonstrances from many quarters, and on the advice of the Council of the Indies, the order of prohibition was withdrawn. The practice was, therefore, continued, and the natives, under the unaccustomed toil to which they were driven, continued to diminish in numbers. The laws provided by the Crown and the Council of the Indies contained abundant provisions apparently designed to promote the material and spiritual well-being of the Indians, but under the conditions of communication then existing between Spain and her American possessions, the actual practice in Mexico, and elsewhere in Spanish America, was determined rather by the wishes of the local authorities than by the will of the King of Spain.

The system of encomiendas and repartimientos was first introduced into Peru by Pizarro, in connection with the founding of the town of San Miguel, in 1532, who "divided the land amongst those who settled in the new town, for, without aid of the natives, they could neither have maintained nor peopled it." [1]

[1] Report of Francisco de Xeres, Secretary to Francisco Pizarro; translation by Clements R. Markham, in Hakluyt (London, 1872), vol. xlvii. 24. Xeres gives a hopeful view of the plan: "If the caciques had been made to serve, without being assigned to persons who would be responsible, the natives would have suffered much injury; for when the Spaniards know the Indians who are assigned to them, they treat them well, and take care of them. Influenced by these considerations, and with the approval of the monk and of officers, who thought that such a measure would be for the service of God and the good of the natives, the governor assigned the caciques and Indians to the settlers in this town, that they might assist in their maintenance, and that the Christians might teach them our holy faith, in obedience to the orders of his Majesty that measures should be taken which were best for the service of God, of himself, and for the good of the country and of the natives." See *Historiadores primitivos de Indias*, ii. 325. The *Conquista del Perú*, by Francisco de Jerez, from which this translation is made, is found in the second volume of this collection of *Historiadores primitivos*, which is vol. xxvi. of *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, by Enrique de Vedia. *Libro primero*

II

Encomiendas were authorised in Peru by Charles V, and by the Law of Succession provision was made for their descent to the proper heir of the holder. It was provided also that one who did not live in the same province as the Indians assigned to him might hold them in this relation by appointing an agent who should reside in the province with the Indians in question.

While these measures were under discussion, the Spanish authorities appear not to have been definitely persuaded of the desirability of the system. Under this condition of affairs, Las Casas's power in the advocacy of the liberation of the Indians became especially manifest. Before the council at Valladolid he announced the proposition that the Indians were by nature free; that, under the Crown, they were entitled to its protection; and that they "should be immediately declared free, without exception, and for ever." The argument that their labour was necessary to the cultivation of the soil and the development of the mines was swept away as of little weight, since it had not been shown that the mines must be developed or the land cultivated, if these things could be done only by the commission of a great wrong.

Bartolomé de las Casas was born in Seville in 1474, and died in Madrid in 1566. He went to Española in 1502; took part with Velasquez in the conquest of Cuba; returned to Spain in 1515 to plead the cause of the Indians with Ferdinand; went again to Española in 1516, this time as "Protector of the Indians." In 1521 he attempted to found a colony on the coast of Cumaná; took the Dominican habit in 1522; in retirement for

de cabildo de Lima, part ii. 93–153, contains an extensive account of the encomiendas of Peru, with lists of the encomiendas, the number of Indians of each, and the annual tribute from each. On pp. 132–5 are given detailed references to the literature of the subject.

eight years; was Bishop of Chiapa, in Mexico, 1544–1547. His last years were spent in Spain. His functions as protector of the Indians were to uphold the laws and ordinances affecting the Indians, to seek a remedy for all action prejudicial to them which might be taken; to appear as the defender of the Indians before the Spanish authorities; and to limit the encroachments and exactions of the Spaniards; in a word, to interpose authority to prevent abuses to which the Indians might be subjected at the hands of the Spaniards.[1]

The influence of Las Casas, at the time of the formation of the New Laws, was based on the fact that he had been long a conspicuous figure in Spain, and that his conduct had placed him before his generation as a strong and disinterested character. He had, moreover, been in the Indies, and had, probably, a more thorough knowledge of the public affairs of America than any other Spaniard, and in liberating his serfs or slaves he had given substantial evidence of sincerity in his purposes. In 1539 he was in Spain, and his great influence was directed to urging the adoption of a law, which he hoped would release the Indians from bondage and ameliorate their condition. The advocates of this reform were not stimulated by any expectation of material advantage for themselves, but their opponents were moved to resistance by the prospects of the loss of wealth and power. Without being able to command the services of the Indians, they feared the loss of their revenues and a decline in the value of their lands. Although they might have set up claims for vested interests destroyed, yet there was no possibility of recovering an indemnity from any source. The material interests of Spain herself had already begun to decline. The holders of land in America had, therefore,

[1] *Leyes de Indias*, lib. vi. tit. vi.; Solórzano, *Política Indiana*, lib. ii. cap. xxviii. p. 123; Robertson, *Works* (Edinburgh, 1819), xi. 41. See Fabié, *Vida y escritos de Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, Obispo de Chiapa* (Madrid, 1879).

grounds for supposing they would be called to face more or less complete ruin in case the proposed laws were passed and executed. In view of the difficulties of the situation the emperor's advisers were not of one mind. The laws, however, as they were finally issued by the Council of the Indies, were entirely in harmony with the wishes of Las Casas and the other advocates of the liberation of the Indians.

The New Laws were framed in 1542, and were signed by the emperor in Barcelona on the 20th of November of that year, nearly a quarter of a century after Las Casas had urged the cause of the Indians upon the authorities of Spain. They may be regarded as the first important result of his long and persistent advocacy of the Indians' rights, an advocacy which overestimated the ability of the Indians to depart from the status fixed by their traditions and accept the conditions of civilized life.[1]

These laws, while emphasizing certain established features of Spanish policy, were designed to effect a reform in the existing relations of the Spaniards to the Indians. Important items of reform in organisation were the creation of a viceroy and an audiencia to reside in Lima, the abolition of the audiencia of Panama, and the creation of an audiencia for Guatemala and Nicaragua. The audiencias were commanded to inquire into the treatment which the Indians had received at the hands of governors and private persons; and, in case of excesses and ill-treatment, the guilty parties should be punished with all rigour consistent with justice. It was the will of the king, as expressed in these laws, that the Indians should not be made slaves, but that they should be treated as vassals of the crown of Castile; and, moreover, that the Indians should not be made to carry burdens, but if in some places this could not be avoided, it should be arranged in such a manner that no risk of

[1] Fernandez, *Historia del Perú*, lib. i. cap. i.–iii.

life, health, and preservation of the Indians might ensue from an immoderate burden; and in no case against their own will and without being paid. The death of many Indians and negroes in the pearl fisheries led to the command that no free Indians should be taken to these fisheries under pain of death; and that if the risk of death to the slaves employed could not be avoided, the fishing for pearls should cease. On account of the ill-treatment suffered by the Indians allotted to viceroys, governors, and their lieutenants; to officials, prelates, monasteries, hospitals, houses of religion, or any other persons favoured by reason of their offices, it was ordered that all Indians held by such persons or institutions should be immediately placed under the Crown, even though these persons might wish to resign their offices and retain their Indians; and that all Indians held by any persons without proper title should also be taken away and placed under the Crown. While it was acknowledged that some persons had a sufficient title to hold Indians, it was ordered that where the number held was excessive, the audiencia should gather the necessary information, and "reduce the allotments made to the said persons to a fair and moderate quantity," and place the rest under the Crown. If on inquiry it was found that any Indians had not been properly treated by the persons to whom they had been allotted, they should also be taken away and placed under the Crown. Under these laws no viceroy, governor, audiencia, or other person should have power to allot Indians in encomienda. It was seen that the transfer of Indians to the Crown on the death of the holder might, in some cases, leave deserving persons without support, and it was, therefore, ordered that if it should appear to the audiencia that there was a necessity to provide support for the widow and children, that body might allow them a moderate pension out of the tribute to be paid to the Crown by the Indians after their transfer. Discoverers of new regions were prohibited under pain of

death from taking from the regions discovered any Indians whatsoever, except three or four as interpreters; and the discoverer was required to give to the audiencia an account of the conduct of his expedition and of his discoveries, on which the audiencia might make a full report to the Council of the Indies.

The New Laws having been framed, there remained the still more difficult task of causing them to be accepted and obeyed. To execute them was to run counter to the interests of the higher officials, and of those persons who controlled the bulk of the property in the Indies. A member of the Council of the Indies, Don Tello de Sandoval, was appointed to carry them to Mexico; but a knowledge of them had reached Mexico before the arrival of the commissioner. By the proposed reform, the Spanish settlers in that country saw themselves threatened with the immediate loss of the results of all their toil and adventure. As feudal lords over the Indians who had been allotted to them, and as vassals of the Crown, they held positions which promised not only dignity but wealth; and these prospects were to be destroyed at a single blow. The despair which took possession of the inhabitants was shown by their resolution to clothe themselves in mourning robes, as at a funeral, and go out of the city to meet the messenger of their evil fortunes. But the viceroy dissuaded them from carrying out this plan. On the 8th of March 1544, Sandoval arrived at the City of Mexico, and was almost immediately met with petitions and remonstrances concerning the publication of the laws he had come to execute. But in spite of the strong and universal opposition of the Spanish settlers, the laws were published in the City of Mexico, March 24, 1544. They were read publicly in the presence of the viceroy, the special commissioner, the judges, and the other royal officials. This action of the authorities, showing a determination on their part to disregard the wishes of the encomenderos, raised a storm

of indignation, which threatened to break into open revolt. At this point Bishop Zumárraga poured oil on the troubled waters by calling a meeting at the cathedral, and there leading the Spanish settlers to believe that wherever the laws were opposed to the interests of the Spaniards, they would not be enforced. The settlers took hope not only from the address of the bishop, but also from the knowledge that the clergy were holders of important encomiendas, and that their interests in them were likely to weaken their natural loyalty to the Crown. The ecclesiastics were, with very few exceptions, in favour of continuing the system of encomiendas, and opposed to the liberation of the Indians. With the Church as an ally, the encomenderos had very good grounds for believing their cause was not hopeless.

In view of the great losses that the execution of the New Laws would entail on large numbers of the Spanish settlers, and of the resistance to the authorities that might be aroused by an attempt to enforce them, both Mendoza, the viceroy, and Sandoval saw the necessity of at least delaying action. Commissioners representing the municipality and the religious orders were sent to Spain to ask the king to revoke at least those parts of the New Laws which threatened the interests of the settlers. By a royal decree of October 20, 1545, the desired revocation was granted. This action filled the Spanish settlers with joy and the enslaved Indians with despair.[1]

That the attempt to introduce these laws did not lead to bloodshed or a popular uprising in Mexico was in large measure due to the wise discretion of the viceroy, Mendoza. In Peru the outcome was quite different. Blasco Nuñez Vela was sent to be the first occupant of the newly-

[1] On the introduction of the New Laws into Mexico, see Diego Fernandez, *Historia del Perú*, cap. i.–v. This work was originally published in Seville in 1571, but the copy here referred to was published in Lima in 1876, as volumes viii. and ix. of Odriozola's *Documentos literarios del Perú*. Prescott gives a brief account of Fernandez's work in his *History of the Conquest of Peru*, ii. 430–31.

created office of viceroy, and at the same time to be the commissioner to introduce the New Laws. Vaca de Castro, after the battle of Chupas and the subsequent execution of the younger Almagro, attempted to improve the state of the Indian population, and to bring about a better relation between the Indians and the Spaniards. A readjustment of the affairs of the repartimientos appeared necessary in order to attain the last object, but in this undertaking he touched the most sensitive point of the Spanish administration in America. The Spaniards held with great tenacity to the privilege of keeping the Indians in service. They regarded it as their most valuable reward for their labours and dangers of discovery and exploration, and at the same time as the necessary foundation of their prosperity. The thought that the abolition of this privilege would entail their material ruin led them to oppose vigorously any project to overthrow the system of repartimientos. It was this spirit that resisted the proposed introduction of the New Laws.

The Spanish settlers of Peru foresaw the disadvantages to themselves that would result from the enforcement of these laws, and appealed to the government of Peru to protect them against the destructive measure of the Spanish court; but when they discovered that a new government was to be established, and that the head of this government was to be a viceroy especially commissioned to enforce these laws, the way of defence and self-preservation seemed to lead to rebellion. They turned to Gonzalo Pizarro with the demand that he should become their leader. As the last of the brothers of the Pizarro family remaining in the province, he was regarded as the bearer of the heroism that had been displayed in the conquest, and the natural defender of the interests of the conquerors. What followed was civil war.

III

Gonzalo Pizarro, who was called to be the leader of the opposition to the projected reforms, had been appointed by his brother Francisco to govern Quito. At the same time he had been instructed to explore the region towards the east. Under these instructions he undertook the ill-fated expedition of 1540, an expedition which was attended by an unparalleled series of hardships, and which gave Orellana an opportunity, by abandoning the company with a few followers, to make the first exploration of the whole course of the Amazon.[1]

During the absence of Gonzalo, Vaca de Castro arrived at Quito, and, having learned of the death of Francisco Pizarro, prepared to assume, in accordance with his instructions providing for such an emergency, the title and functions of governor of Peru. After his return from the "Land of Cinnamon," Gonzalo Pizarro offered his services to Governor Castro, who was then engaged in his campaign against the younger Almagro, but this offer the governor, fearing, perhaps, the influence of Pizarro's ambitious and restless spirit, found it advisable to refuse. Later Pizarro appeared in Lima, where he gave expression to his dissatisfaction with the political affairs of the country, and particularly with the slight shown him in the failure to entrust him with the government after his brother's death. In the meantime Almagro had been defeated at the battle of Chupas, and executed at Cuzco. The followers of the youthful leader had ceased to exist as an effective body. Some of them had been killed,

[1] Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, bk. iv. chap. iv. Orellana's voyage down the Amazon, 1540–41, is described by Herrera, bk. ix., Dec. vi. English translation by Markham in Hakluyt, vol. xxiv. pp. 21–40. On Gonzalo Pizarro's trip to the Land of Cinnamon, and the desertion of Orellana, Garcilasso, second part of *Commentaries*, English translation, Hakluyt, xxiv. 1–20. The Amazon and its tributaries are the subject of chap. v. bk. vi. of Juan and Ulloa, *A Voyage to South America*.

some imprisoned, and others had been induced to join expeditions to unexplored regions.

Gonzalo Pizarro was then the only rival with whom Castro had to reckon. To forestall any uprising that Gonzalo's presence might provoke in Lima, Castro sent a considerable force to that city from his camp at Cuzco. At the same time he ordered Pizarro to present himself at Cuzco. Castro had become clearly the master of the situation, and Gonzalo Pizarro, finding no hopeful prospects for his political aspirations, retired to La Plata, and devoted himself to the exploitation of his mines.

The retirement of Gonzalo Pizarro and the dispersion of his followers tended to promote internal peace. But this was not destined to continue. Knowledge of the New Laws and of the purposes of the Spanish court spread rapidly in Peru, and practically all of the Spaniards in the country saw in the changes proposed the destruction of their hopes of material prosperity. There was no reason to suppose that Governor Castro would zealously espouse the cause of the people against the government. He had been appointed by the Crown, and was loyal to his imperial master. He had no material interests that would be disadvantageously affected by the reforms, and his short residence in the country had not enabled him to participate fully in the desires and aspirations of the people. He, moreover, saw that the coming of the viceroy would close the period of his official responsibilities. He undertook to allay the storm of dissatisfaction which was rising around him, by counselling delay, patience, and attempts to secure a repeal of the obnoxious ordinances by means of petitions to the Crown. But the colonists were in no mood to accept these suggestions. Their views were very positive, and they only wished a leader under whom they might unite and carry them out. They turned to Gonzalo Pizarro. He made known his sympathy with their cause, but he was not disposed to plunge at once into open rebellion. In this

determination he was encouraged by letters from Governor Castro, who hoped to suppress the popular clamour by causing the arrest of all persons whose conduct tended to disturb the public peace.

In January 1544, Blasco Nuñez Vela, the viceroy, landed at Nombre de Dios. He was attended by the members of the audiencia and by a retinue, with which he hoped to impress upon the people his idea of the dignity of his office. His arbitrary acts in freeing slaves, and in seizing treasure destined for Spain, and his announcement that he would execute the laws to the letter, whatever might be the consequence, became speedily known throughout Peru, and banished all hope of a compromise, through which something might be saved in the impending disaster. When the viceroy had advanced from Panama along the coast and landed at Tumbez, and was approaching Lima, the inhabitants proposed to shut the gates of the city against him. They were, however, dissuaded from this act by the sober counsel of Governor Castro. In their state of fear, indignation, and determined hostility, they turned again to Gonzalo Pizarro, who, aggrieved by the action of the Spanish court in neglecting his claims to authority, and knowing the esteem in which he was held by the people, determined to accept the offered leadership. To this determination he was, moreover, moved by the prospect of losses he would suffer under the proposed reform, and not a little by his personal ambition. The municipality of Cuzco was induced to bestow the military command to which he aspired, and which he accepted, as he affirmed, in order that he might serve God and the king and advance the best interests of Peru and of all the Indies in general.

Blasco Nuñez arrived at Lima unaccompanied by the audiencia. He had left that body at Panama on account of the illness of one of the members. Vaca de Castro, the municipal authorities, and a considerable number of the inhabitants went out to meet him, and conducted

him into the city in great state. But the citizens were moved less by the gorgeous display of his formal entry than by his unfortunate announcement that the execution of the New Laws would not be suspended. Mendoza, the viceroy of Mexico, had faced similar conditions and refused to carry out the provisions of these laws until the king might be more fully informed concerning the state of affairs. The presence of Blasco Nuñez had not allayed the fears which his utterances before his arrival had aroused. On the contrary, the new statement of his purposes only tended to increase the alarm and strengthen the feeling of hostility.

In the meantime, Gonzalo Pizarro made use of the product of his mines to collect and equip a body of soldiers, with whom he proposed to move upon Lima. As he advanced, his little army of four hundred was increased by various accessions until it amounted to about twelve hundred men.

But even before the arrival of Gonzalo Pizarro in the valley of the Rimac, all was not well with the viceroy. Men whom he had trusted had betrayed him; and he suspected others who deserved his confidence. Instead of following the wise advice of Vaca de Castro, he imprisoned him in a vessel in the harbour. He undertook to form a military force by a general levy of the citizens, but he was not assured of their loyalty. To these embarrassments others were added by the arrival of the members of the audiencia, who did not hesitate to express their disapproval of the viceroy's acts. They were in favour of suspending the New Laws, and of obtaining by negotiation what the viceroy was trying to obtain by raising an army. They condemned his arbitrary imprisonment of prominent men whose disloyalty had not been proved, and they broke completely with the viceroy by going to the prison and releasing them.

After the murder of Suarez de Carbajal and the secret burial of his mutilated body, the cause of the viceroy

was hopeless. The Spaniards in Peru turned away from him, persuaded that they must follow either the audiencia or Gonzalo Pizarro. From this state of things it was only a step to the succeeding events: the uprising under the audiencia, the storming of the palace, and the capture and imprisonment of the viceroy.[1]

With the removal of the viceroy, the supreme power in Peru fell into the hands of the audiencia, and this body determined that the obnoxious laws should not be executed until instructions could be received from the king. It also decided to send Blasco Nuñez to Spain. The appearance of Gonzalo Pizarro at Jauja with a constantly increasing force was a serious obstacle in the way of the audiencia. Yet the ostensible reason for the creation of this force had disappeared. Inca Manco, who had long terrorised the Spaniards, had been killed and his warriors scattered. The hateful laws had been suspended, and the unreasonable viceroy had been expelled from the country. But a troop of twelve hundred soldiers and adventurers could not be expected to disperse or submit on the request of a body of judges who had usurped the authority of government. To the message of the audiencia, Pizarro, therefore, replied that if that body did not immediately invest him with the government, the city would be taken and pillaged by his soldiers. A further reason for compliance was furnished by Francisco de Carbajal, who entered the city, and arrested and hanged some of the deserters who had left Pizarro's force soon after its organisation at Cuzco. It happened, therefore, that it was on the invitation of the audiencia that Pizarro entered the city on the 28th of October 1544. His little army, accompanied by several thousand Indians, carrying the equipment and dragging the artillery, made an imposing display. Gonzalo Pizarro, after the judges of

[1] Fernandez, *Hist. del Perú*, lib. i. cap. vi.–xix.; Calvete de Estrella, *Rebelion de Pizarro en el Perú y vida de D. Pedro Gasca*, i. 37–56; Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, ii. 237–56.

the audiencia had administered to him the oath of office, was proclaimed Governor and Captain-General of Peru.

But the unexpected was to happen. Alvarez, a member of the audiencia, who had been charged to conduct Blasco Nuñez to Spain, for some unexplained reason, announced to his prisoner, soon after the vessel had left the port, that he was free, and that the vessel would take him to any port where he might wish to land. While there was still a chance to regain his position and fulfil his mission, the viceroy was unwilling to return to Spain in disgrace. He, therefore, landed at Tumbez, and, by appealing to the loyalty of the inhabitants of that region, soon gathered under his command a considerable body of volunteers, but they were neither effectively armed nor well disciplined. Pizarro, however, recognised that this force might receive such accessions as to endanger his tenure of power, particularly as the viceroy could properly claim to be the legitimate head of the government. This danger appeared to be sufficiently great to call for a vigorous effort to crush the uprising in favour of the viceroy. Pizarro, therefore, sent a body of soldiers towards the north, and then at Trujillo placed himself at the head of a force larger than that which Blasco Nuñez had been able to organise.[1]

The campaign which ensued was marked by the flight of the viceroy and his men through the wilderness to Quito and beyond to the town of Popayan, and the close pursuit by Pizarro and his troops; and finally the return of both parties to Quito. The crisis of the campaign came with the battle of Añaquito, which resulted in the death of the viceroy and the overthrow of his troops, about a third of whom perished. At the solemn funeral of Blasco Nuñez Vela, Gonzalo Pizarro, dressed in black, appeared as the chief mourner.

[1] Blasco Nuñez is reported to have had 500 men, and Pizarro 600. This episode is given in detail by Diego Fernandez, *Historia del Perú*, lib. i. cap. xxii.–xxxiv.

In July 1546, Pizarro left a garrison at Quito, and proceeded southward. He was greeted everywhere with enthusiasm, and at Lima a returning conqueror, who had liberated an oppressed people, could have had no more gorgeous triumph. He received congratulations presented by delegates from various towns and districts, and after Diego Centeno's rebellion in Charcas had been suppressed, he was the undisputed master of Peru. His power was everywhere acknowledged, from Quito on the north to the border of Chile on the south, and even the towns on the Isthmus, which constituted the key to the Pacific, had fallen into his hands. He was apparently in a favourable position to assume sovereign power, and to erect in Peru an independent monarchy; and among his followers there were some who urged him to take this course, but he hesitated to strike directly at the authority of the Crown. Carbajal, his adviser, was, however, averse to all projects involving compromise, and saw no successful way to a safe and stable position except by a bold assertion and vigorous defence of the power he had attained. Addressing Pizarro he said: "You have already taken up arms against the viceroy, the legitimate representative of the sovereign; you have expelled him from the country; you have defeated and killed him in a battle; you can never hope to obtain pardon from the Crown for such acts. You have gone too far to stop or turn back. You should now take possession of the government of the country which your family conquered. Go on, and proclaim yourself king: the people and the army will support you. By making grants of land and of titles of nobility, you will gain for yourself the affection of the Spaniards, and by marrying a princess of the family of the Incas, you will be able to render your exercise of power legitimate in the eyes of the Indians. In this manner the two races will be able to live in tranquillity under a common sceptre."[1]

[1] Barros Arana, *Historia de America*, i. 340.

But Gonzalo Pizarro lacked the courage to be "splendidly wicked." He consequently sent to the king an elaborate report of his conduct, in order to justify himself and to solicit from the Crown confirmation in the power he was exercising.

IV

The information which reached Spain concerning the events in Peru gave the government ground for serious reflection. The obstacles in the way of subduing the rebellion by force appeared to be insurmountable. The Isthmus was held by Pizarro, and very great difficulties would be encountered in attempting to reach Peru by any other route. Pizarro's vessels commanded the Pacific, and even if the royalist forces succeeded in landing they would be greatly handicapped, as compared with the veterans of Pizarro, by an unknown country and an untried climate. There was also a danger that the new troops would be allured by the expectation of rich booty or the spoils of the mines, and, disregarding their allegiance to the king, ally themselves with the forces in insurrection. The Crown had, therefore, to adopt some other policy than uncompromising coercion, or run the risk of losing Peru completely.

In this critical state of affairs, the court adopted a plan of conciliation, and Pedro de la Gasca was commissioned to undertake the difficult task of bringing Peru to acknowledge and maintain allegiance to the sovereign. Gasca left Spain for Peru in May 1546. As a youth he had been a student in the seminary of Alcalá de Henares, and later at Salamanca, In the war of the communes he was distinctly a partisan of the Crown. He had been a member of the council of the Inquisition, and had held the responsible post of visitador of the kingdom of Valencia. When he was appointed to the important undertaking in Peru, he was known to have already managed difficult

cases with great skill and discretion. He accepted the appointment, and seeing the necessity of independent action in possible emergencies, without being compelled to wait for instructions from the court, he demanded that he should be clothed with all of the authority of the sovereign within the field of his activity. The Council of the Indies was neither willing nor able to convey this degree of power; whereupon Gasca appealed to the emperor, who granted willingly this apparently extravagant demand. Under the simple title of President of the Audiencia he was empowered to do whatever the King of Spain might do under the given conditions. He was at the head of every department of the administration; he might raise troops, appoint and remove officers, and declare war; he might exercise the royal prerogative of pardoning offences; and was especially commissioned to grant an amnesty to all who had been engaged in the rebellion. He was authorised to revoke the ordinances which had caused the popular uprising and the overthrow of Blasco Nuñez; and, returning to the earlier practice, he might make repartimientos, or confirm those which had been previously made. In accordance with his expressed wish, he was granted no specific salary, but he might make any demands on the treasuries of Panama and Peru.[1]

On landing at Santa Marta in July 1546, Gasca was informed of the battle of Añaquito, and the establishment of Gonzalo Pizarro's power throughout Peru. After considering various plans with reference to entering Peru, he finally determined to proceed to Nombre de Dios. Here he landed in the plain garb of a simple ecclesiastic, and those who received him were not then aware that he was the bearer of the essential powers of an absolute prince.

[1] The *Real Cédula*, issued by Charles V to Gasca, conveying these powers, was dated February 16, 1546, and is printed in Odriozola's *Documentos literarios del Perú*, iv. 360–62. See Fernandez, *Historia del Perú*, lib. ii. cap. xiv.–xvii., particularly the emperor's letter of August 16, 1545, in cap xv., and Gasca's letter in cap. xvii.; *Doc. inéd.*, xxiii. 507, 516.

In his interview with Hernan Mexia, whom Pizarro had placed in charge of the important military post of the Isthmus, he informed that officer that the policy which he proposed to carry out was a policy of pardon and conciliation; that he proposed to annul the objectionable ordinances; and that, as this was the purpose of the uprising, any further continuance in hostility towards the government of the emperor would be wilful rebellion. Mexia believed that Pizarro would see the force of this reasoning, and indicated to the president his willingness to co-operate with him in attempting to re-establish the royal authority in Peru.[1]

From Panama, Gasca wrote to Pizarro, and at the same time forwarded to him the conciliatory letter of the emperor. He indicated his determination to concede all that Pizarro had contended for. When the reply to these letters was received, it was in the form of a letter from the inhabitants of Lima, dated October 14, 1546, congratulating the president on his arrival, but expressing regret that he had come so late, after all the troubles of the country had been settled, and peace had been established under the rule of Pizarro. At the same time, Gasca was informed that an embassy was on its way to the Spanish court to ask that Pizarro might be confirmed as governor of Peru, and that the headship of this mission had been entrusted to Lorenzo de Aldana. It was, moreover, intimated that the presence of the president would be likely to renew the social disturbance, and might cost him his life. The interview between Aldana and the president, in which the former learned the extent of Gasca's powers and the nature of the concessions to Pizarro and his followers, changed materially the prospects of both parties. Aldana abandoned his mission to Spain, accepted the offered pardon, agreed to support the president, and recommended to Pizarro to pursue the same course.

[1] Fernandez, *Historia del Perú*, lib. ii. cap. xxi.

Another important step in the progress of Gasca's cause was the acceptance of the president's views by Hinojosa and the surrender of the fleet. Hinojosa and his officers gave up their commissions into the hands of the president as the representative of the Spanish Crown. In return, the president, in the name of the Crown, pardoned all past offences, restored to the officers their commissions, and greeted them as the loyal subjects of the emperor.[1] By this politic act, Pizarro's power on the ocean was transferred to the president undiminished.

After Gasca had obtained possession of the fleet, the way to Peru was open to him, and the later events of his contest with the insurgents followed one another in rapid succession. When he had learned that Pizarro had rejected his peaceful overtures and had determined to appeal to arms, Gasca had to accept the challenge, for there was no alternative. He then began to make preparations for collecting and organising a military force. He sought to enter into such relations with Guatemala and Mexico that he might receive troops from them in an emergency. But this emergency did not arise, for, in spite of the neglect and abuses of the home government, there remained a sufficient basis of loyalty in the colonists to incline them to abide by their traditional allegiance when there were no longer any practical grievances to move them to rebellion. In the north, Benalcazar, who had taken the part of the rejected viceroy, was willing to proceed against Pizarro; and in the south, Centeno and his followers had been temporarily subdued, but not converted into active supporters of the insurgent cause. Even the forces of Pizarro actually under arms found it for their advantage in many cases to desert and accept the amnesty offered by Gasca in the name of the Crown. Although in the battle of Huarina the royalist forces, under Centeno, were defeated and scattered in hopeless

[1] Mendiburu, iv. 272–6; Prescott, ii. 347–61; Fernandez, *Historia del Perú*, lib. ii. cap. xxiv.–xxv.

confusion, yet in the engagement at Jaquijaguana Pizarro and his followers were routed and his cause was lost. This was properly the end of the play. The curtain might very well be allowed to hide the remaining scenes: the executions and the confiscation of property which followed do not appear to be an essential part of a policy of conciliation.

Pizarro, who was beheaded after the battle of Jaquijaguana, was the victim of unwise advice and a popular uprising, which claimed him as its leader and offered him as its sacrifice. At the time of his death, he was forty-two years old, a man of fine presence, fond of display, a favourite of the people, but lacking the iron will of his eldest brother, Francisco, and the selfishness, arrogance, and unscrupulousness of Hernando. Carbajal, who had been Gonzalo's chief lieutenant, and who was executed about the same time, was grim, cruel, suspicious, stoical, given to coarse and frightful jests in the presence of the greatest danger and even of certain death, had reached the age of eighty-four at the time of his execution, with practically no diminution of his powers. The score of other officers who suffered death under the president's orders appear to have been a bloody sacrifice to Gasca's hatred, rather than the victims of a military or political necessity; and it does not appear that these executions contributed to the internal peace and order of the kingdom. Beginning with insinuating professions of pardon and conciliation, his brief administration passed, leaving behind it a broad trail of blood. He confiscated the property of those who had fought for the abolition of ordinances which the government itself at last found ill-advised. With the products of this confiscation he rewarded his followers, especially distinguishing by his favours those who through treachery and desertion had embarrassed his enemy. In attempting to distribute the spoils, Gasca was overwhelmed by a multitude of persons who wished to have their claims recognised; and finally,

in order to be free from their importunities, he retired to a little village in the valley of Guaynarima about twelve leagues from Cuzco. Here, assisted by Loayza, the Archbishop of Lima, he provided for grants of land and Indians, and committed the record of the assignments to the archbishop. After Gasca's departure this schedule was published, producing a state of general dissatisfaction, which the president, by reason of his absence, was relieved from the necessity of facing. He embarked for Spain, by way of Panama, in January 1550, and left the country, to quote the judgment of Sir Clements R. Markham, "in the greatest confusion, and all the most difficult administrative points to be settled by others."[1] The task of bringing order out of the social chaos was taken up by the audiencia, who conducted the government until September 1551, the date of the arrival of the second viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza.[2]

[1] *History of Peru* (Chicago, 1892), 134.

[2] See Mendoza's *Ordenanzas y compilacion de leyes*, 1552 (*Doc. inéd.*, viii. 55–101).

An elaborate account of Gasca's conflict with Gonzalo Pizarro, and of Gasca's administration, is found in Fernandez, *Historia del Perú*, lib. ii. cap. xxiv.–xcv., and lib. iii. cap. i.–ix. A still more extensive account is contained in Calvete de Estrella, *Rebelion de Pizarro en el Perú y vida de D. Pedro Gasca*, 2 vols., Madrid, 1889 (Colección de Escritores Castellanos). The sentence of death passed on Gonzalo Pizarro, at Jaquijaguana, April 9, 1548, is printed in Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, ii. 472. The Appendix to Fernandez, *Historia del Perú*, contains important documents on Gasca and his mission:

I. Instrucción que dió el Señor Don Felipe II al Licenciado Pedro de la Gasca, enviándole á pacificar el Perú.

II. Historia de Don Pedro Gasca, Obispo de Sigüenza.

III. Poder y comisión al Licenciado Gasca para perdonar delitos.

CHAPTER XIV

THE COUNCIL OF THE INDIES AND THE INDIA HOUSE

I. The Council of the Indies. II. The organisation and functions of the India House, or Casa de Contratacion

I

THE maintenance of the unlimited power of the Spanish Crown made easy the adoption of the fundamental provision of Spain's American policy, namely, that Spanish America should be regarded and treated as directly subject to the king, and not to be controlled by the functionaries hitherto existing for the government of Spain. When it is said that Spain founded her rights in the New World on the celebrated bull of Alexander VI, which was designed to put an end to conflicting pretensions between Spain and Portugal, there is revealed an attempt to conceal the fact that the only claims which Spain or the Spanish king had to lands in America were based on usurpation. Carrying the pretended right back to a grant by the pope only fixed the act of usurpation one step earlier. But whatever title was transmitted by the papal bull was conveyed to Ferdinand and Isabella, not to the Spanish nation; and the subsequent political and ecclesiastical administration of the affairs of Spanish America was carried on under the presumption that the king was the sole political superior. From a strictly legal point of view, Mexico and Peru, and, later, the other states of equal dignity, appear as kingdoms in a personal union with the kingdom of Spain, rather than as colonies in the ordinary meaning of that term.

The project to maintain the government of the American dependencies separate and distinct from the government of Spain, except in so far as the king was a common superior, necessitated the creation of new institutions and new laws for the American kingdoms. New institutions were formed for the special work of governing in America, and, except in very rare instances, they exercised no power with reference to affairs in Spain. The first in rank of these special agencies was the Council of the Indies. It is not to be supposed that these institutions were formed after a plan which was complete in the mind of the king or in the mind of any other person when their organisation was begun. They grew as the need of them became apparent, and the general direction of their growth was determined by the spirit which dominated the Spanish government, and by previously existing Spanish institutions. As soon as the discovery of America was known in Spain, it became necessary that there should be some man or body of men, who might advise the Crown with respect to the management of the new possessions. Out of this need arose the Council of the Indies, but it did not come into existence full-grown. At first its undeveloped or partially developed functions were performed by Juan de Fonseca,[1] Archdeacon of Seville, who from time to time was assisted by other persons. During the first two decades after Columbus' first voyage, American affairs demanded little attention, except such as was given to fitting out, and prescribing regulations for, voyages of discovery and exploration. In this period, the persons who assisted, or acted with, Fonseca were usually members of the Council of Castille. A fully organised and independent council, whose members had no other functions than considering American affairs, would have been practically a sinecure. But ultimately, with the increase of settlements, a permanent body was needed

[1] See Washington Irving's view of Fonseca's character and conduct, in *Voyages of Columbus* (Paris, 1829), iv. 403–10.

which might advise the Crown and, with the consent of the king, exercise most of the functions of a supreme governmental agency. To meet this need, the Council of the Indies was given its definite form and powers. It was, moreover, required to reside at court, and might be presided over by the king. In this character, as a body under the presidency of the king, it held supreme and exclusive jurisdiction in the affairs of the Indies. The separation of powers, which has become a familiar feature of modern states, was not carefully regarded in Spain in the sixteenth century. The Council of the Indies covered the whole field of governmental activity. It was a legislative body, in that from it proceeded the laws for the government of the Spanish possessions in America; it was also a judicial body, sitting as a court of final appeal for all cases concerning American affairs which were of sufficient importance to be carried to it; and it was, furthermore, an executive body, inasmuch as its advice was sought by the king on all questions of great importance in the administration of the Indies. It was organised in 1524, and was granted "the same exemptions and privileges as the Council of Castille; the same power to make laws with the consent of the king; the same supreme jurisdiction in the East and West Indies, and over the natives of these regions, although they might reside in Castille, subjecting to itself the audiencia of the contratacion of Seville, and declaring it expressly inhibited to all the councils and tribunals of Spain, except the Inquisition, to take cognisance of anything concerning the Indies." [1]

Prior to its organisation, some of the cases which afterwards fell under its authority were considered by the Council of Castille. But after it had been established,

[1] Alaman, *Historia de Mejico*, i. 34. Although not fully formed in 1511, it had become at this time an effective body, so that it is said that "it was instituted by Ferdinand the Catholic, perfected by the Emperor Charles V, and reformed by Philip II." It was abolished March 24, 1834.

it was the will of the king that it should have supreme jurisdiction over all the Spanish West Indies, discovered and to be discovered, and over all the affairs that might arise or proceed from them.

The difficulty of dealing with affairs so little understood as were the affairs of the Indies made it appear desirable that in the supreme council of the Indies there should be ordinarily some councillors who were natives of the Indies, or who, at least, had served many years in the audiencias, where they might have acquired intimate and practical knowledge of all the affairs of the colonial administration, and who might give their colleagues the information required to enable them to act with discretion. An important function of the council was to consider the qualifications of candidates for ecclesiastical or secular positions, for the purpose of advising the king with respect to their appointment. In selecting persons for the various offices, it was considered desirable to give preference to persons who had had experience in the Indies; and, in filling judicial positions, to consider the judges of the lower courts with the view of promoting those who might have achieved distinction.

Among other things which show the authority and supreme power of the Council of the Indies is the fact that it was commissioned and empowered to perform and issue laws, rescripts, decrees, and ordinances in the name of the king, when it might appear that they were needed for the good government of the Indies. These laws and ordinances were afterwards collected in the *Recopilacion de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias*. They constitute a code distinct from the laws that were in force in Spain, and furnish the provisions, under which, in so far as they were obeyed, the public affairs of these kingdoms were conducted.

Although the Council of the Indies was expected to abstain from intervening in judicial contests carried on before other courts, as far as it was possible, yet cases

concerning the Indians and certain cases on appeal from other tribunals might be brought before it. It exercised original jurisdiction, particularly in matters relating to encomiendas of Indians, the annual income of which exceeded one thousand dollars. It might also review judgments rendered in cases of the residencia of corregidores, governors, royal officials, judges, presidents, viceroys, and other officers, civil or military, who were subject to this form of judicial examination. Owing to the great distance and the infrequent communication, a period of one year was allowed for bringing to the council a case appealed from a tribunal in America.

The Council of the Indies was the general adviser of the absolute king, and in this capacity it prepared the necessary laws for the dependencies, tried certain important cases that were brought before it, and performed much of the executive work that nominally belonged to the king. But the executive functions of the Council of the Indies were very limited in comparison with those performed by the Casa de Contratacion, or India House.[1]

II

Provision having been made for the management of the political affairs of Spanish America by the establishment of the Council of the Indies, a second body was then created to take immediate control of the economic affairs. This body had its beginning in the exchange of Seville and the custom-house of Cadiz, which were established between the first and second voyages of Columbus.[2] When it had taken definite form, it was known as the Casa de

[1] *Leyes de Indias*, lib. ii. tit. ii.; lib. v. tit. xiii., leyes 1–10. Solórzano, lib. v. cap. xv.–xviii.

[2] Lafuente, *Historia de Espana*, ix. 467; Beaulieu, *Colonization*, 26; "Instrucion pora facer una casa de contratacion en Sevilla, pora la negociacion de las Indias, January 20, 1503." *Doc. inéd.*, xxxi. 139–55.

Contratacion, which may be appropriately designated in English as the India House. It was definitely established at Seville in 1503. In this year it was ordered that a house should be built in the shipyards of Seville, for the trade and commerce of the West Indies, the Canaries, and such other islands as were already discovered, or might be discovered in the future. To this "house was to be brought all merchandise, and other things necessary to this trade," whether designed for shipment to the Indies, or to be returned from America.

This organisation was made specially necessary by the plan of the Spanish king to subject the trade with America to a rigid and exclusive monopoly. Under its control, Seville became the only port from which ships might be sent to America, and through which colonial products might enter in return. The India House took account of everything that concerned the economic affairs of the Indies; it had power to grant licences, to equip vessels, to determine their destination, and to give them instructions as to their loading and sailing. In the performance of its ample judicial functions, it consulted lawyers, who were paid by the government. From its decisions appeal could be taken only to the Council of the Indies. Its officers consisted of a president, a treasurer, a secretary, an agent, three judges or commissioners, an attorney, and such other ministers and officials as might be provided for by law. If it is said that the Council of the Indies stood for the king in political matters, and the India House in economic affairs, the significance of the latter body is not thereby fully presented. The activity of the India House is contrasted with that of the Council of the Indies by its larger executive functions, its more immediate participation in the practical work of administration, and by acting as the agent of the Spanish king in maintaining and carrying out the laws relating to the Indies. Its jurisdiction was without special territorial limits; it covered all matters embraced in the ordinances,

and reached all persons who contravened these ordinances. All cases arising from theft or any other crime committed on the voyage to, or returning from, the Indies—in fact, all cases under the laws of the Indies—fell within its exclusive province. But in certain cases, where private persons had suffered injury on the voyage from other private persons, the injured party might demand justice either before the judges of the Casa or before an ordinary court of Seville.

In these two organisations, the Council of the Indies and the Casa de Contratacion of Seville, we discover the two special agents employed by the king in carrying out in America the measures of an essentially absolute rule, whether they concerned the political or the economic affairs of his possessions. But the immediate direction of Spanish-American affairs was entrusted to single officers and councils residing in the New World. Prominent among these were the governors, the audiencias, the viceroys, the presidents, the captains-general, and the officers of the municipalities. With whatever authority they were clothed, they were all subordinate to the king and the Council of the Indies, or the India House; and under whatever titles they existed, they were all designed to contribute to the two great features of Spanish colonial policy, namely, absolute political control and monopolistic privilege in industry and trade.

The formation of a special corporation at the port of Seville, through which should pass the affairs of the Indies, was one of the first practical indications that these affairs were to be regarded as belonging particularly to the Crown and not to the civil authorities of Spain. In view of the opposition which this policy aroused, the king ordered the "supreme magistrates of Seville not to intermeddle, on any account, with what concerned the jurisdiction of the India House, but rather diligently to support and maintain it in the privileges granted by

him."[1] Similar commands were issued subsequently, and they were accompanied with the statement that he would not only maintain the new institution, but would add to its authority if necessary. Under Philip II, its authority was in fact extended, so that it was a repository not only for the treasures brought from the Indies, but also for certain revenues raised in Andalusia. Even the fitting out of the great Armada of 1588 was entrusted to the president and commissioners of the India House, acting in conjunction with the Duke of Medina Sidonia. Their power increased; their credit rose; they appointed officers of fleets and civil magistrates; they granted passes to ships; and in importance and dignity they stood next to the royal councillors. They enjoyed the same privileges and immunities as the judges of chancery and of the other courts. They exercised civil and criminal jurisdiction in all cases involving the owners and masters of ships, sailors, factors, and merchants, and those intercepting letters or instructions relating to the Indies. They took cognisance of all crimes committed while sailing to, or returning from, the Indies, and in these cases no other judges had power to intermeddle; and, according to a decree of 1558, the same method of procedure was followed as in the royal courts of Valladolid and Granada.

Persons violating the ordinances of the India House might be brought from any part of the Spanish king's dominions, and be tried by this body in its judicial capacity in Seville. As a court it had, moreover, full jurisdiction over its own officers. In 1655, one of the accountants killed another in a street in Seville, and a contest between the India House and the city as to the jurisdiction in this case was decided in favour of the former of the contestants. Not only had the India

[1] Veitia Linage, 7. The references given here are to *Norte de la Contratación de las Indias Occidentales*, by Don Joseph de Veitia Linage, "made English" by Capt. John Stevens under the title *Spanish Rule of Trade to the West Indies*.

House the extensive jurisdiction here indicated, but it was also subordinate to no council but that of the Indies. And it had power to inflict any degree of punishment.

In accordance with the provisions of the ordinances, the president, "appointed to reside and preside in the India House," was required to be a "person of note and experience," "well versed in the affairs of the Indies," having knowledge of places, of the history, and of the voyage. He bore the title of Lordship, and, in 1628, an order of the council of war decreed that the president visiting Cadiz in his official capacity should be allowed a guard composed of an officer and sixteen men. He was so careful of his dignity that he never acted jointly with the regent of Seville on any public occasion, because of difficulties of precedence, and in making visits of compliment he was attended by two judges or commissioners, and the alguaciles were accustomed to go before the coach.[1]

Among the duties of the president, one of the most important was the fitting out of the fleets and the armadas. He was, moreover, expected to supervise the embarkation of passengers, taking special care that none should go without a licence, and that licences should not be sold or counterfeited. The general ordinance prohibiting the officers of the India House from engaging, either directly or indirectly, in the trade with America, applied to the president as well as to all other officers. The punishment of any president found guilty of violating this ordinance was reserved to the hands of the king.

After the president, the most important officers were the judges, who enjoyed the distinction of being styled *jueces officiales*, a title which all other officers belonging to the West Indies were forbidden to assume. For a number of years they had the power to appoint the high officers of the fleets, but after the creation of the Council of the Indies this power fell into the hands of that body. Yet the admirals and vice-admirals continued subor-

[1] Veitia Linage, 19, 20.

dinate to the judges of the India House; they enjoyed supreme authority only when under sail; "and as soon as on their return they cast anchor in any port of Spain their authority ceases, and is transferred to the judge or commissioner who goes down to receive or clear the ships."[1]

The law not only determined the order of business, but also prescribed the office hours of the members. They were required to be on duty three hours in the forenoon of each day, from seven to ten, during the season from Easter to the end of September, and from eight to eleven during the rest of the year. And if any one were absent without just cause it was provided that his salary for that day should be withheld. The rule fixing the hours of the judges was not always observed, for "when there are Armadas or Flotas to fit out, or clear, they sit at all hours and times, without excepting the greatest holiday, or unseasonable times at night; so that as no hours are exempt from business, upon extraordinary occasions, when there is no business they do not sit in the afternoon."[2]

No judge or commissioner was permitted to be absent without leave. At first, while there were only three judges, leave was granted by the king, and the absent judge was obliged to secure a deputy; but later, after the number of officers had been increased, it became customary for the president to grant such leaves of absence as were not for more than thirty days.[3]

The members of the India House were divided into two bodies, called the chamber of direction or government, and the chamber of justice. For eighty years, or until the founding of the chamber of justice, in 1583, the whole business of the institution was conducted by a single body. During the first fifty-four years of this period, this body was composed of three judges; and during the last twenty-six years, of three judges and a president. After the creation of the chamber of justice, this body

[1] Veitia Linage, 26. [2] *Ibid.*, 27. [3] *Ibid.*, 28.

took cognisance of all criminal cases; but cases not involving the king's revenue, nor specified in the laws and ordinances of this court, might be tried before this or any other court, at the pleasure of the parties concerned.

The chamber of justice, as established in 1583, consisted of two lawyers who were called judges, but were distinguished from the *jueces officiales*, or judges by office. A few years later, in 1596, a third judge was added, in order to avoid a tie, and to permit all cases brought before the chamber to be decided. All matters of law and justice were determined by the judges who were lawyers. If a case were originally brought up in the chamber of direction, and there were developed in the course of its consideration contests belonging to a court of justice, it was immediately turned over to the chamber of justice. In this court suits were terminated with a hearing or a re-hearing, but cases involving more than 600,000 maravedis, or 1500 dollars, might be appealed to the Council of the Indies. All cases involving the revenue, or duty for convoys, or pay due from the king, or sums in charge of the House, which might not be delivered by an order of a court of justice alone, could not be taken up by the chamber of justice until after they had been presented to the chamber of direction. If it were disputed whether an item of business belonged to the chamber of direction or to the chamber of justice, the point in question was referred to the president and one judge from each chamber. For all matters not covered by the particular laws of the India House, resort was had to the general laws of the kingdom.

Besides the officers already mentioned, there was a fiscal, or solicitor, who has been described as "the king's mouth in causes wherein he is concerned, a check upon those that manage the revenues, a spy upon those who embezzle it, an informer against those that defraud it, an agent to improve it, and lastly a two-edged sword in a civil and criminal capacity, to defend the patri-

mony of the Crown." This office was first established in 1546. Before this time, one of the commissioners had been appointed to perform its duties. He was required to keep a record of all suits managed by him for the king, and to pass it on to his successor. His duties, in fact, were those of a prosecuting attorney, but his action was limited to cases concerning the king or his revenue; and his cases took precedence of all others. One of the duties of the commissioners was to go to the port and despatch the armadas or fleets, and also to receive them on their return. This was regarded as one of their most unpleasant duties, and was performed in turn, beginning with the eldest. An extra allowance for this service of six ducats a day was made to each commissioner performing it, and twelve ducats a day to the president. This duty consisted in inspecting the ships, determining whether or not they were in a proper condition to be sent to sea. If repairs were needed, the extent of them was determined, and they were ordered to be made. If they were overloaded, a portion of the freight was ordered to be removed; and great care was taken that no goods should be put on the vessels after they had been cleared. To prevent this, no boats except those properly licensed were permitted to go over the bar with the fleet. The commissioners clearing the vessels were required to send to the officers of the king at the ports to which the ships were bound, an account of the destination of the ships, what force of men and guns they carried, what freight, and the extent of their provisions. It was the duty of the commissioners, moreover, to prevent the shipment of passengers without the proper licences from the king or council. In case passengers were shipped without such licences, a penalty of one thousand ducats was imposed upon the officer under whose command they were carried. The commissioner despatching vessels was required, moreover, to see that the ships carried a sufficient amount of provisions and fresh water, and that they were ready to

sail at the proper time. Having set sail, all the merchant ships were required to follow the admiral, to approach and salute him every day, and not change their course without his leave, "on pain of death and forfeiture of goods." [1]

No vessels were admitted to the fleet, except such as had been built in the Spanish dominions and were the property of Spanish subjects. They must also be of at least three hundred tons burthen. The task of selecting them was committed to the president and judges of the Casa de Contratacion, under the obligation to report to the Council of the Indies. If a ship of any foreign nation should land at a port of the Indies, the officers of the king were authorised to confiscate it, together with the goods which it contained, and turn the whole over to the royal treasury, the informer being permitted to receive one-fifth of the total value. In case the Spanish ships had been licensed to sail to one of the ports with which trade was established, the owners, captains, or pilots might not change their destination, and all were required to carry arms and munitions of war, including at least two pieces of artillery.[2]

All persons shipping goods to the Indies were obliged to have them registered in the Casa de Cortratacion, under the rule that everything sent without being registered should be turned over to the royal treasury. It was required in like manner that whatever gold, silver, or merchandise of other kinds was exported from the Indies, should be registered at the ports from which it proceeded. If gold, silver, pearls, precious stones, or other goods arrived at the Spanish port of entry without being registered in the manner prescribed by law, they should

[1] Veitia Linage, 45.

[2] *Leyes de Indias*, lib. ix., tit. xxx., leyes 1–39. "Carta del Prior y Cônsules de Sevilla proponiendo varias disposiciones relativas á la ida y vuelta de las flotas á Indias y modo de protegerlas durante la guerra con Francia" (*Doc. inéd.*, iii. 513). Magnier, *Les Flottes Espagnoles des Indes aux XVI^e^ et XVII^e^ Siecles* (Paris, 1905).

be taken possession of by the officers of the Crown, and turned over to the royal treasury.[1]

There was a general prohibition that no magistrate or officer of justice in the kingdom of Spain should interfere in any matter falling within the jurisdiction of the India House; and that no seaport officers should go on board vessels bound to, or returning from, the Indies. In going from Seville to Cadiz to despatch vessels, the commissioner took with him one of the clerks and a constable. He made the journey on a barge belonging to the India House, or on a vessel hired for him for this purpose.

On the return of ships from the Indies, they were received by some judge, or commissioner, of the Casa. This duty, like the duty of despatching vessels, devolved in turn upon the several members of the organisation. The smaller ships were received in Seville near the Golden Tower. Those that were unable to ascend to this point on the river were received at a place called Barego, while those that came in fleets were always received in the port of Bonança.[2] In 1589, it was ordered that no one but a judge, or commissioner, from the chamber of direction of the India House should be given a commission to visit the armadas or flotas. The thorough inspection involved in the commissioner's visit appeared to be necessary in carrying out Spain's protective policy. It involved mustering the men to see if those who had left Spain had returned; also an examination to determine whether the vessels carried the guns and ammunition which under the law they were required to carry, and to find out if they had observed their instructions as to landings, or had brought goods not properly entered. The commissioner was also required to determine "whether there was any blasphemous person aboard, or any that kept a wench; or whether they had played at prohibited games, or committed any other crimes."[3] If, on inquiry, the com-

[1] *Leyes de Indias*, lib. ix., tit. xxxiii., leyes 1 and 2.
[2] Veitia Linage, 47. [3] *Ibid.*, 48.

missioner found that the master owed the sailors any part of their pay, he was required to command that the payment be made within three days; and if this command was not obeyed, the master was arrested and ordered to pay an additional sum to each person to whom he was indebted for every day of delay in making payment. If it appeared, from the oath taken by the master and the crew, that any person had died on the outward or return voyage, an account and an immediate delivery of his goods were demanded; and if the goods were not immediately delivered, the master was required to pay the amount of their value, and forfeit to the king double this amount. In his official inspection, the commissioner was required to find out whether any slaves or passengers had been admitted on board the vessels without leave, and whether any Indians had been brought from America. This last had been strictly prohibited under penalty of a large pecuniary fine, perpetual banishment from the West Indies, and a payment for the return of the Indians to the province or island from which they had been taken. If the person guilty of this offence was unable to meet the payment for the return transportation, he was condemned to suffer a hundred lashes. In case persons belonging to the ships were absent at the time of inspection, it was at first the practice to have them brought before the president and the court, but later they were brought before the commissioner at the port. The result of this leniency was that often a majority of the men were absent from the muster, and this led to the imposition of a small fine for leaving the ship before the inspection. Not only the merchant ships but also the men-of-war were inspected on their arrival, with the view of determining whether they had complied with the prescriptions of the law.

It was incumbent on the India House to render to the Council of the Indies the earliest possible information concerning the arrival of the galleons and flotas. In

pursuit of this purpose, the commissioner at the port, on the first intimation of the approach of vessels, sent out a boat to bring this information, which he at once despatched by an express to the India House, however imperfect it might be.

As soon as the vessels had reached the port, a second messenger was despatched to carry to the India House the number of the ships and a statement of the treasure which they contained. This information having been received by the president, was by him immediately sent to the king. The process of unloading the vessels was indicated in the law with great detail. The chests, with letters and accounts, were conveyed to Seville by a special messenger as rapidly as possible.

"The plate is unloaded out of the ships into great vessels called *gavarras*, or lighters, that of each galleon apart, an *escrivano* certifying the bars, chests, or other parcels so unloaded, upon which every boat has its guide, and a waiter appointed to bring it up. This is when the ships unload in the port of Bonança, for if it be done in Cadiz, an officer with some soldiers is to be in every boat, the whole cargo being in charge of the admiral's captain, who goes in one of the said boats, and the ensign or sergeant in each of the others, with such number of soldiers as the admiral shall appoint." [1]

In the first phase of its organisation the India House comprised three judges or commissioners. As judges they had some functions in common, but in addition to these each had certain peculiar administrative duties. One commissioner was at the same time the comptroller. He kept a detailed account of all sums received by the treasurer, and of all bills drawn upon these sums. He was required to preserve the "entries of ships sailing to, or returning from, the West Indies, upon pain of paying the damage the party shall sustain whose entry is lost." [2]

[1] Veitia Linage, 52. [2] *Ibid.*, 56.

For the management of the affairs of his office he was permitted to have a certain number of subordinate officers, and clerks. The most important of these was a deputy comptroller, who took charge of all matters belonging to the king's revenue. In case the comptroller was sick or absent, the deputy was empowered to sign for him and to despatch all the business of the office. In appointing deputies to any commissioner, great care was taken to exclude all such persons as were in any way concerned in trade in the West Indies.

Among other officers subordinate to the comptroller, there was one who took charge of the goods of deceased persons, the goods of persons absent, and property left in trust. This officer, whenever the occasion arose through illness or absence, might act for the deputy comptroller. Another officer was charged with making the entries of commodities passing through the India House. There was still another officer whose duty it was to have a book in which was kept a record of persons departing for the Indies, their names, places of birth, and the names of their parents. Another officer or clerk had charge of the credits and the uncoined silver. He also conducted the correspondence between the court on the one hand, and the king and private persons on the other. All these officers held commissions approved of by the chamber of direction. Such other clerks might be employed in the comptroller's office as were demanded by the business in hand.

Some idea of the details of this office may be had from a list of books kept in the regular course of business. They were as follows: 1. Books of receipts and expenditure, in which were entered

"all the charges, in a very plain and distinct method, mentioning what chest the sum came from, what hands it has gone through, whether it came entire, in what sort of coin, and if it be ingots of gold or silver, in what shapes,

upon what terms it was sold, mentioning the particular number of bars or other pieces of gold or silver, with the numbers, fineness, and weight, and whether they weighed the same as they did in the Indies." [1]

In these books were entered also orders for payments, and these orders were the comptroller's receipts for his disbursements. 2. Books of the revenue derived by the *cruzada*.[2] 3. Books of the king's private revenue. These contained accounts of the sale of gold and silver ingots, which were sold at the treasury. These accounts embraced statements of the number and weight of bars, the persons to whom they were sold, and the dates and terms of sale. 4. Books wherein were entered all the commodities deposited in the warehouses. 5. Books in which were recorded all the resolutions of the chamber of direction. 6. Books of the dead, in which a record was kept of all property that belonged to deceased persons, "stating accounts nicely with the dead, making him creditor for all that is brought over in armadas and flotas, and debtor for all that is delivered to his heirs, executors, and creditors." [3] 7. Books in which were entered the fines and the expenses of the court. 8. Books of passengers, in which were entered the names, birthplace, and parentage of all persons going to the Indies, the place of their destination, and the terms of their licences. 9. Books of letters, embracing copies of all letters written by the court. 10. Books in which were filed copies of all orders, bills, informations, and certificates. 11. Books in which were

[1] Veitia Linage, 58.

[2] Every two years the bull of the *cruzada* was published containing "an absolution from past offences by the pope, and, among other immunities, a permission to eat several kinds of prohibited food during Lent, and on meagre days. . . . Every person in the Spanish colonies of European, Creolian, or mixed race, purchases a bull, which is deemed essential to his salvation, at the rate set upon it by government." The price varied, according to the rank of the purchaser, from two reales to sixteen reales. See Robertson, *Works* (Edinburgh, 1819), xi. 120.

[3] Veitia Linage, 59.

entered or filed the commissions of all the officers of the India House. 12. Books in which were filed copies of all naturalisation papers that had been issued to persons to enable them to participate in the trade with the West Indies. 13. Books in which were charged all utensils and goods delivered to the chief pilot, cosmographer, and other officers. 14. Books in which were kept accounts of the loading of all ships.

Another commissioner held the special office of treasurer, and whatever money was received from the sale of gold, silver, pearls, and other products of the Indies was committed to his custody. The treasurer and the other commissioners were required to give bonds to the amount of thirty thousand ducats, each, and the treasurer, as the receiver of the money of deceased persons, an additional bond of fifteen thousand ducats, while of the subtreasurer there was required a bond of ten thousand ducats. The treasury chamber to which the laws make frequent reference was a room with barred windows and double doors. Each door had three unlike keys which were distributed among the commissioners.

Payments of money belonging to the crown were made on orders issued by the king,

"passed by the councils of the West Indies and of the Revenue, in such manner that the Council of the Indies gives an order for the gross sum; and then that of the Revenue grants particular warrants to those who are to receive it. These warrants are presented in the chamber of direction, where assignments are given upon the treasurer." [1]

The sums belonging to deceased persons, which came into the hands of the treasurer, were very great during the early decades of Spanish dominion in America, and it became customary to make loans from this store. In 1633 the king had borrowed from it more than five hun-

[1] Veitia Linage, 62.

dred thousand ducats, and all the pressure that could be brought to bear upon him was inadequate to make him restore it. It, therefore, happened that persons holding valid claims against this fund could not recover what was due them, because the fund itself had been exhausted by loans to persons who, like the king, either could not or would not meet their obligations. In order to avoid complications and embarrassments from delayed claims, steps were taken to ensure that the most efficient means possible should be taken to discover the heirs in all cases; but in case they did not appear or were not discovered within two years after inquiry for them had been instituted, the property of such deceased persons should be regarded as forfeited. The property of deceased persons here referred to included not only that of persons who had died in the Indies, but also that which had been left by passengers, sailors, and others, who had died on the outward or return voyage. For managing this property the treasurer, by a decree of 1671, was granted a fee of one per cent. of all that came into his hands.

The third of the three judges, or commissioners, who at first constituted this court of trade, held in addition to his office of commissioner, the special office of factor, or manager. His principal function was to purchase on behalf of the king, or the king's officers, commodities needed for the king's service in America. If a governor, or any other officer, of the king's appointment in the Indies, had need of any material from Spain for the proper conduct of affairs in his department of public service, he sent to the factor at Seville or Cadiz, who purchased the desired articles and sent them to him by the ordinary means of communication. The factor, moreover, was charged with all commodities brought from the Indies for the king, or brought by the king's order to be sent thither, except gold, silver, and precious stones. These were consigned to the treasurer. Using the king's arsenal as a storehouse for the things received, the factor was

accustomed to deliver them on an order from the king, the council, or the chamber of direction. The actual care of the commodities was confided to a deputy of the factor, who occupied an apartment in the building in which they were kept. Although the king's gold and silver were in the custody of the treasurer, yet if any of it was to be melted down at the mint, the supervision of this work devolved upon the factor. And he had, moreover, the control of the funds advanced by the king for carrying the ecclesiastics to the Indies, and furnishing them those things which they might need, and to which they were entitled under the law.

One of the important articles of trade between Spain and the Indies was quicksilver, which was extensively used in the production of silver. The trade in this particular commodity was monopolised by the king, and no other person might engage in it, under penalty of death and forfeiture of property. It having been found that the mine of Almaden did not produce enough to supply the demand of New Spain, it was determined to make up the deficiency from the mines of Peru. For three or four years, therefore, quicksilver was carried from Peru to New Spain, and, as a part of this transaction, goods of various kinds were carried from New Spain to Peru, thus violating the law prohibiting trade between these two countries. Although this trade may have been mutually advantageous to the two colonial kingdoms immediately concerned, it was nevertheless regarded by the king as detrimental to the interests of Spain, and was consequently suppressed. The subsequent failure of the Peruvian mines caused the Indies for a certain time to be supplied entirely from Europe, principally from Germany and the mine of Almaden. Whatever part was sent from Spain passed through Seville, and was prepared for shipment under the care of the factor or manager of the India House.

For one hundred and twenty-two years the organisation known as the India House consisted of three commis-

sioners who, as already indicated, filled the several offices of comptroller, factor, and treasurer. In 1625, Philip IV added the Duke of Olivares to the list of commissioners, at the same time conferring upon him the office of chief alguacil, which was made hereditary to the immediate heirs of his family. The list of judges or commissioners was also increased by the creation of the office of chief alcalde, or keeper, which was conferred upon the Count of Castrillo, and made hereditary to his heirs forever. It devolved upon him, among his other functions, to appoint the doorkeepers of both the chamber of justice and the chamber of direction, and their assistants, the doorkeepers of the office for convoy money, the porter at the gate, the keepers of the treasury chamber, and certain other officers of the custom-house and port, all of whom had previously been appointed by the president of the Council of the Indies.

The historical significance of the organisation known as the Casa de Contratacion lay in the fact that for a long time it held the key to the New World, and was the efficient agent of the Spanish king in carrying out the most rigid system of commercial restriction that was ever framed. It continued to have its seat at Seville till 1717, when it was transferred to Cadiz for greater convenience in superintending the shipping to America, the bulk of which at this time went from, and was received at, that port. After the removal to Cadiz, an agent of the India House continued to reside in Seville, as, while the offices were in Seville, there had been an agent in Cadiz. The actual transfer of the offices to Cadiz, in accordance with the decree of 1717, was made in 1718.[1]

The attitude of Spain towards trade and traders was such as to furnish a positive hindrance to commercial developments; and in the course of time the Spaniards had to lament that, through their failure to honour and

[1] Antunez, *Legislacion y Gobierno del Comercio de los Españoles con sus Colonias en las Indias Occidentales*, 10.

encourage merchants, most of their trade had fallen into the hands of foreigners. In view of the tendency towards this result, certain special privileges were extended to Spanish merchants trading with the Indies. Among these privileges may be noted that of deferring payments to creditors in case of misfortune causing considerable loss. Any person who had been granted this privilege through letters of licence, was accustomed to pay five per cent. per annum on the amounts of the payments deferred.

It was one of the rules of transportation that goods must be landed at the port to which they were consigned, and if they were permitted to be sent to adjacent ports, it was required that they should be sent thither in other vessels than those which carried them from Spain. Goods brought from the Indies consigned to the king were always introduced into Spain free of duty. Provisions and other commodities sent for the use of the soldiers in the garrison in Florida also paid no duty. After import duties had been removed, it was customary to allow goods for use in Spain to be taken from the ships wherever they might come to anchor, but goods imported for re-exportation had to be brought to Seville that arrangements might there be made for the duty of exportation. In the later times the duties were so exorbitant that the officers did not pretend to collect the full amount. It appeared from experience that by this means the maximum revenue would accrue to the State, because of the extraordinary efforts that were made to escape payment altogether when the full duty was demanded.

Important among the burdens imposed upon the commodities involved in the trade between Spain and the Indies was the *haberia*, or duty levied on the goods carried, in order to meet the expenses of the convoy. It was first imposed in 1543, and was then at the rate of two and one half per cent., and in 1587 it was raised to seven per cent. After the sea had become somewhat more safe by the cessation of hostilities between England and Spain, the rate

of convoy duty fell to six per cent., but it appears to have risen again in the first half of the seventeenth century; for, by a decree of Philip IV, dated 1644, it was ordered that this duty should not exceed twelve per cent. All commodities whatsoever carried to, or brought from, the Indies, not excepting those belonging to the king himself, were required to pay this duty. No goods were delivered until the duty for convoy had been paid, and this was exacted, although the goods had on another account been forfeited. Yet silver and commodities consigned for the holy places at Jerusalem and for the redemption of captives were exempt from this duty. The collecting and accounting for this duty was at one time entrusted to the commissioners of the India House; but after 1572 it was placed in the hands of a special commission of five persons, who sat in a chamber of the India House, which had been appointed for their use.

Besides the functionaries already mentioned, there was also a *proveedor*, or commissary-general, whose duty it was "to order all payments for provisions bought," and to see that no more provisions and stores were taken on board than were needed for use. This officer was subordinate to the president and commissioners of the India House, and all agreements which he might make required their approval in order to be valid. He was permitted to employ four agents, or under-commissaries, and was required to render an account of all provisions turned over by him to the officers of the ships taking charge of them. Such provisions were free from all duties. The *proveedor* might appoint a deputy to act in his absence, and also two clerks, when the amount of the business demanded it.

Among the other persons employed in connection with the shipping to America, mention may be made of the superintendent of the workmen engaged in the shipyards. He was expected to examine the ships needing repairs, and to oversee the work of repairing, preventing waste

through dishonest work or the stealing of material. The master carpenters and master calkers were appointed by the king, on the recommendation of the commissioners of the India House. They were paid by the day whenever they had work. There was also a storekeeper who had charge of all provisions and material for fitting out ships, and who delivered them as they were needed, "from the time the ships began to be fitted till they sailed." During part of the colonial period there were two of these officers, and at other times three.

The visitors of ships were important officers of the India House. They have been described as next to the commissioners in dignity. They were required to be "expert and skilful" in fitting out ships, to inspect them, and to determine the number of men and the amount of stores and ammunition that should be put on board of each. Before leaving for the Indies each ship was required to have a licence from the president and commissioners of the India House, and to have been examined either by the president and commissioners themselves or by the visitor. The ship was examined before it was loaded, in order that it might be seen if it were seaworthy in all respects and well ballasted. In addition to these precautions, it was provided, in 1609, that no ship under two hundred tons burthen should be admitted to the convoyed fleet. It was customary to have every ship visited three times. "The first visit was for the visitor to appoint how the vessel was to be fitted; the second, to see whether all had been performed that had been ordered; and the third, to clear it for sailing."[1] The third visit was that already referred to as made by the president or one of the commissioners of the India House. He was accompanied by a visitor, who was to see that the ships were not overloaded, that no freight was carried on deck, that a sufficient amount of provisions had been taken on board, that the vessels carried the requisite

[1] Veitia Linage, 98.

amount of arms and no more, and that they had on board no unlicensed passengers or wares not properly entered. At the sailing of a vessel, the business of the visitor with reference to it was ended, for on the return of the ships the visitor had nothing to do with them.[1] In addition to these officers, there was a large number of clerks and other subordinates, who had in hand the mass of details relating to the trade between Spain and America.

Concerning emigration to the West Indies, it was provided, in 1511, that any subject of Spain, on properly entering his name, might be allowed to go to the Indies. But later, in 1518, in 1522, in 1530, and in 1539, orders were passed involving restrictions, in accordance with which the bar of exclusion was raised against all persons newly converted from Judaism or Mohammedanism to the Catholic faith, against the children of such persons, or the children and grandchildren of persons who had worn the Saint Andrew's cross of the Inquisition, and against the descendants of any person who had been burnt or condemned for heresy. Any person violating these provisions was liable to forfeiture of property, a hundred lashes, and perpetual banishment from the Indies. To prevent violations of the restrictive laws concerning emigration, it was provided by a royal order for 1552,

"that for the future, the judges or commissioners of the India House should not suffer any person whatsoever, though of such as were allowed, or though he had the king's letters of licence, to go over to the Indies, unless they brought certificates from the places where they were born, to make appear whether they were married, or single, describing their persons, setting down their age, and declaring that they were neither Jews nor Moors, nor children of such, nor persons newly reconciled, nor sons or grandsons of any that have been punished, condemned, or burnt as heretics, or for heretical crimes; such certificates to be

[1] Veitia Linage, 99.

signed by the magistrates of the city, town, or place where such persons were born." [1]

A few years later, in 1559, the prelates in the Indies were instructed " to inquire whether there were any Jews, Moors, or heretics in those parts, and to punish them severely." And in 1566, all the sons and grandsons of heretics were excluded from offices or places of trust.

All magistrates, captains, pilots, masters, mates, or other persons, aiding in the violation of these restrictions on emigration were subject to a great variety of penalties, fines, lashes, banishment, imprisonment, and transportation to Spain, which were increased to such an extent that in the beginning of the seventeenth century it was decreed that passengers who should go to the Indies without the proper leave, " should be sent to the galleys for four years, or, if they were persons of quality, to Oran for ten years." This penalty should also be imposed on masters of ships, and in addition a fine of one thousand silver ducats. In 1607, it was provided that any sea officer carrying passengers to the Indies without leave should be punished with death. But in the course of time the extreme rigour of the law was abated in favour of a pecuniary fine. Yet the severer measures continued to have supporters, since the removal of restrictions caused the countries to be overrun with pedlars, who cut off more or less of the trade of the established merchants.

The president and commissioners of the India House, without reference to the king, might grant leave to go to the Indies, to *mestizos*, who had been brought to Spain ; to merchants, even such as were married, provided they had permission from their wives, and left a thousand ducats as a guarantee that they would return within three years ; to agents of merchants in the Indies, but only for three years ; and to inhabitants of the Indies, who were known

[1] Veitia Linage, 108.

to have wives there. Any other person required a licence from the king.

When the question arose as to what persons should be regarded as merchants, the title was interpreted so as to include anyone who had shipped goods rated for the payment of duties at seven hundred and fifty dollars or more. Married women whose husbands were living in the Indies might go to them and be accompanied by a kinsman within the fourth degree of consanguinity; but if the husband went to Spain for his wife, he was not permitted to return without a licence from the king. And the privilege of going to the Indies was strictly withheld from all single women.

Although the president and commissioners of the India House might permit merchants to go to the Indies without their wives for a period of three years, provided they had the wives' consent, and left a guarantee of one thousand ducats, yet no other married man, not even a governor or other officer of State, was allowed to go without his wife, except under an express dispensation from the king. And without this dispensation, the wife of the highest officer as well as the wife of the ordinary man was required to bring the same proofs of identity that were required of the men.

How rigid was the restriction imposed on emigration may be seen from the fact that although one held a commission for employment in the Indies, and even a pass from the king, he was not permitted to sail without a licence from the India House. It was not, however, to be expected that all persons would bring their certificates of qualification in the exact form required by the law; and when there were deficiencies in the papers presented, such deficiencies were sometimes supplied by information gathered by the officers of the India House; and sometimes, in order to avoid the great inconvenience that might be caused by delay, a pass or licence was issued on the receipt of satisfactory security that certificates in due

form would be subsequently forwarded from the proper sources.

The rules governing the passengers on the voyage required that they should carry their own provisions, and the masters of ships were prohibited from undertaking to furnish them food. The passengers were, moreover, required to swear that they would not remain at any port at which they might stop on the way to their proper destination, and that they would not carry their goods ashore before they had been examined. If one carried a licence to reside at a specified town in the Indies, he was expected to reside there; and if one pretended to be going to the Indies to exercise a certain handicraft, he was obliged to follow it.[1] And there were rules prohibiting persons from going from one province to another without leave from the king. Similar restrictions were imposed upon persons going from the Indies to Spain. They might not leave without permission "from the viceroys, presidents, or governors of the places of their habitation." And the governors of seaports were prohibited from granting leave to any person residing in their jurisdiction, except on the presentation of a licence from the civil officer within whose jurisdiction he lived.

By an ordinance of 1560, it was provided that persons going to the Indies without licence should forfeit to the Crown all property acquired there, with the exception of one-fifth part which should go to the informer; and they should, moreover, be arrested and sent as prisoners to Spain at their own expense. Neither they nor their heirs might receive goods sent to them; and in accordance with a bull issued by Alexander VI, they were declared to be excommunicated.

If the royal ordinances which touch on the ecclesiastical affairs of America indicate the will of the Spanish kings in this matter, the kings were moved by a strong desire to promote the religious welfare of the Indians. Presuppos-

[1] Veitia Linage, 113.

ing this desire, the restrictions which were placed on the emigration of friars and priests appear as means for preventing any but those of virtuous and exemplary lives from going to the Indies. These restrictions were carried out through orders to the commissioners of the India House not to allow the friars of any order to go without a licence. Persons attempting to avoid this provision were seized and sent back to Spain. As early as 1530, an order was issued to the commissioners of the India House, requiring them not to permit foreign friars to go to the Indies, even if they had leave from their superiors. This prohibition was confirmed by later ordinances, under which it was required that all applications by ecclesiastics for passes should be referred to the Council of the Indies. In 1664 the privilege of entering upon missionary work in the Indies was granted to Jesuits under certain restrictions. The members of the religious orders who went to America under these conditions went at the king's expense; but they were obliged to restore to him the amount of his outlay in case they returned to Spain without leave. In the course of time, by reason of the rise of prices, the allowance which had been granted in the beginning for these expenses was found to be quite inadequate, and whatever further amount was needed by the friars was made up by the orders to which they belonged.

Friars of the orders of Carmelites who went shod were specially prohibited from going to the Indies, but this prohibition did not stand against the barefooted friars of this order. After the beginning of the seventeenth century, the prohibition was made to apply to all orders which had not already established monasteries in America. By an act of the council it was provided, in 1665, that no friar having returned from America to Spain would be allowed to go back, even though he had a licence, unless, on his arrival in Spain, he had reported to the council the cause of his return. The long list of ordinances limiting the movements and general activity of the mem-

bers of the religious orders indicates to what marvellous lengths and into what minute details Spain's restrictive system extended.

In keeping with the restrictive policy of the Spaniards, all foreigners were forbidden to trade with the Indies, without a special licence from the king; and, having obtained such licence, they were limited to dealing in their own wares, and might not, even if naturalised, become owners or masters of ships. By foreigners were meant all persons not born in the kingdoms of Castile, Leon, or Aragon. Later the territory, to be born in which constituted one a native in the meaning of the law, was extended so as to include Navarre, Valencia, and Catalonia. The class of persons known in Spain as natives was further extended by the decree of 1562, and made to embrace such foreigners as had been settled householders in Spain for ten years, and had married a Spanish or an Indian woman. But residence, even for more than ten years, did not confer this privilege on bachelors. In 1608 the line was drawn more strictly. Twenty years of residence, including ten as a householder, were required; also marriage with a native or with a daughter of a foreigner born under Spanish dominion.

In order to avoid the effect of these provisions, foreigners who were not competent to trade with the Indies sold their commodities to subjects and natives of these kingdoms, to be paid for them in the Indies, by which means the gold and plate, brought from those parts, was carried to other countries, and that very often, before it came into Spain.[1]

This practice led to the passage of special ordinances prohibiting it. These were confirmed at different times, and death and forfeiture of goods fixed as penalties for their violation. An attempt was, moreover, made to prevent foreigners from trading in the Indies by ordering that persons residing there should not purchase commodi-

[1] Veitia Linage, 127.

ties of foreigners, on pain of forfeiting half their property and of being returned to Spain as prisoners. By a later law, foreigners were forbidden to reside in the Indies, and those already there were expelled; yet in the course of time the harshness of this law of expulsion was toned down by lax execution. In spite of the severe measures taken against foreigners attempting to trade with the Indies, or to reside there, it was decreed that foreigners residing in Seville and at adjacent ports, although they might not engage in the India trade, should nevertheless be obliged to contribute to the fitting out of armadas and fleets, and to all other expenses borne by the Spaniards.

The intimate relation between the king and his American dominions necessitated a regular organised system of postal communication. As early as 1514, by a royal warrant, Dr. Galindez de Carvajal was made postmaster of the Indies, and by a subsequent order of the Council of the Indies, issued in 1524, all persons were restrained from interfering with him in the despatch of messages concerning the affairs of the Indies. The lines of this service covered the distance between Seville and the other ports, and Madrid, as well as the distances between Spain and America. The postmaster of the Indies was an officer of the India House. His duties were "to receive all despatches sent by the president, commissioners, or other officers, or by the prior and consuls, and other persons trading to the Indies." He provided means for sending messages to the court and to the various ports, by keeping post-horses at certain stations. The service was rendered by persons appointed by the postmaster, who were prohibited from making any charges above the rates fixed by law. The customary speed at which messages were transmitted under this system was thirty leagues a day. Rigorous laws enjoined all persons from intercepting and opening letters and packets. Of the amount paid for this service the postmaster was allowed one-tenth part.

The laws and ordinances contain abundant details

concerning the organisation and control of the royal navy and fleets of merchant ships engaged in furthering the India trade. The admiral, or captain-general, held the chief command, and while on the sea was clothed with power which was essentially absolute; yet he was under oath "that he would not avoid death in defence of the faith, of his master's honour and right, and of the public good of the kingdom." The admirals and other officers, before beginning to exercise the functions of their offices, were obliged to present their commissions and instructions to the officers of the India House, and to furnish the required security that they would faithfully perform the duties of their offices, or meet whatsoever fines might be imposed upon them. The amount of the security demanded varied according to the dignity of the office, ranging from three hundred ducats, in the case of the physician, to five thousand ducats, in the case of the admiral.

After having crossed the bar of San Lucar, the admiral's vessel took the lead, the other vessels followed, the ship of the vice-admiral held her position in the rear, and the other men-of-war kept to the windward of the merchant vessels. If any ship strayed from the fleet, a fine was imposed upon certain of her officers, and they were excluded for a series of years from making this voyage; but if a ship was wilfully taken from the fleet, the guilty officers suffered death and forfeiture of property. After putting to sea, the admiral or vice-admiral examined all the ships. If goods were found that had not been properly entered they were confiscated; and if passengers were found without a licence they were set on shore at the Canaries and sent back to the prison of the India House.

CHAPTER XV

THE AUDIENCIA AND THE VICEROY

I. The audiencia. II. The viceroy.

I

DURING the process of exploration and settlement, authority in America rested in the hands of leaders of expeditions and colonies, who usually bore the title of *adelantado*.[1] This was the title formerly applied in Spain to the military and political governor of a frontier province. Standing face to face with the Moors, he held the general military command of the province, and had power to gather the people under his standard. In his capacity as a civil officer, he took cognisance of such civil and criminal cases as arose within the limits of his territory.[2] When Spain found herself extending her Christian dominion over regions that had been held by the American infidels, it was natural for her to apply to the leaders in this undertaking the title which the champions of Christian Spain had borne during the long contest with the Mohammedans. This title was borne by Columbus, and by most, if not all, of those who founded colonies in districts not hitherto occupied by Spanish authority.

[1] Santamaria de Paredes, in *Derecho politico*, p. 487, has described the adelantados as "governors of great territories with a character chiefly military." The military officers under the adelantado were *maestre de campo*, *sargento-mayor*, and *alferez real*. "In Spain the military governors of the provinces on the frontier of the Moors bore the title of *adelantado*, and from these it came to be applied with propriety to the discoverers of America, whose mission was always to *adelantar*, or advance, the conquest" (Makenna, *Historia de Santiago*, i. 37).

[2] Escriche, 89.

In the course of colonial growth, the adelantado was superseded by a collegiate power known as the audiencia. In Spain, this body was a superior tribunal of one or more provinces, composed of officers learned in the law, who represented the king in the administration of justice.[1] But in America the audiencia wielded governmental power in all departments. To it were confided in the beginning, and later in the absence of the viceroy, all matters with which governmental authority might properly deal. It was held to be the principal care of the Supreme Council of the Indies to give the Indians spiritual and temporal instruction, yet, on account of the inconvenience of distance, this charge was committed to the audiencias.[2] The audiencia exercised not only judicial and political functions, but, in the absence of any superior officer, it was also the chief authority in military affairs. In judicial matters, even in the presence of the viceroy as president, the audiencia exercised a large measure of independence. In such cases the viceroy had no vote, and the administration of justice was left to the judges, or ordinary members of the audiencia. The viceroy, however, signed the decisions with the judges, in accordance with the practice of the presidents of the audiencias of Spain.[3]

The most important audiencias in America were those of Santo Domingo, Mexico, Guadalajara, Guatemala, Pamana, Santa Fé de Bogotá, San Francisco del Quito, Lima, La Plata, Caracas, Buenos Aires, and Santiago de Chile. The Philippine Islands were governed for a time by a special audiencia, but about 1590 they were made dependent on the viceroy and audiencia of Mexico, and were immediately subject to a governor. In accordance

[1] Escriche, 304.

[2] Solórzano, *Política Indiana*, lib. v. cap. iii.–viii.

[3] *Recopilacion de Leyes de Indias*, lib. ii. tit. xv. ley 32. Robertson, *Works*, xi. 17, says: "The viceroys have been prohibited, in the most explicit terms, by repeated laws, from interfering in the judicial proceedings of the courts of audience, or from delivering an opinion, or giving a voice, with respect to any point litigated before them."

with a royal decree of 1593, New Spain was the only part of Spanish America that might send vessels to, or receive goods from, these islands. Yet the connection between these two regions subject to a common authority was not intimate; the voyage from Acapulco and the return lasted thirteen or fourteen months, and one vessel a year sufficed for this trade.

The great power of the audiencia in judicial matters may be seen in the fact that there was no appeal from its decisions, except in civil suits of more than ten thousand pesos de oro, in which there was an appeal to the king.[1] It was the highest judicial authority in America. It appears to have been formed on the model of the ancient supreme court of Spain; at the same time it was for its special district what the Council of the Indies was for the whole of Spanish America. Matters of grace, appointments to office, and encomiendas belonged to the governors or viceroys as presidents of the audiencias. In case of a grievance arising on account of a decision of the viceroy or president in matters of government, an appeal might be taken to the audiencia, in accordance with the laws and ordinances, and the viceroys and presidents could not prevent such an appeal.[2] That in some respects the powers of the viceroy and the audiencia were co-ordinate may be seen in the fact that each without informing the other might correspond directly with the king. When there were several audiencias within the limits of the viceroy's jurisdiction, the presidents and judges of the subordinate audiencias were required to keep the viceroy informed of the affairs of their several districts; and these subordinate audiencias were required to take account of, and carry out, the decrees concerning military and political affairs which the viceroys might send to them.[3]

In the language of a specific law, "the president and judges of the royal audiencia of Guadalajara, in New

[1] Markham, *History of Peru*, 120.

[2] *Recop.* ii. tit. xv. ley 35.

[3] *Ibid.*, ley 49.

Galicia, shall obey the viceroy in everything, and hold with him the good relation which is befitting one who represents the king."[1] In case the position of viceroy or governor was vacant, the audiencia, whose president was thus wanting, might grant Indians in encomienda; and it was specially provided that while the office of viceroy of Peru was vacant, the audiencia of Lima should assume the control of governmental affairs not only in Peru, but also in Charcas, Quito, and Tierra Firme, exercising all these powers which under other conditions belonged to the viceroy; and during this time the audiencias of Charcas, Quito, and Tierra Firme were required to obey and subordinate themselves to the audiencia of Lima. This order of things belonged, of course, to the period before the establishment of the viceroy of New Granada. Similar powers devolved upon the audiencia of Mexico, whenever the post of viceroy became vacant. Whenever, on account of the absence of the viceroy, the audiencia assumed the direction of governmental affairs, the oldest judge was made president, and empowered to perform all the functions belonging to that office. Among the powers of the president of the audiencia was embraced that of appointing judges to fill irregular vacancies.

In their judicial capacity the audiencias of Lima and Mexico were not employed as courts of first instance, but under certain conditions they might hear both civil and criminal cases. Decisions rendered by the audiencias were determined by the vote of the majority, and they were then signed by all the judges, although some of them might have held dissenting opinions. In addition to its judicial and executive functions, the audiencia was expected to keep elaborate records of decrees concerning the Indies, of judgments pronounced, and of the movements of persons within the limits of migration permitted by law.

The first royal audiencia regularly established in America was that of Santo Domingo. For a short time

[1] *Recop.*, ii. tit. xv. ley 52.

this was the chief Spanish authority in the Indies. It was composed of a president, who might act as governor and captain-general, four judges, a fiscal, an alguacil-mayor, a deputy of the grand chancellor, and such other officers as were found to be necessary. Among the audiencias established in America, there was no prescribed uniformity in the number of members. In the course of time the number of members in the several audiencias was changed, in view of the increasing population, and in obedience to the demands for a more efficient government. They varied also according to the importance of the country of residence, ranging from three members upwards. They were organised sometimes in two or more sections, civil and criminal affairs being referred to different sections. In ordinary cases the judges of the audiencia rendered the decisions, but in cases of great import other judges were called to sit with them. Originally all the islands of the West Indies and the neighbouring portions of the mainland were under the jurisdiction of the audiencia of Santo Domingo.

II

The audiencia in its executive capacity failed to justify the expectations of the king, and a new order of things was introduced by the appointment of a viceroy. The first viceroy appointed for the New World was Antonio de Mendoza. His commission was dated at Barcelona, April 17, 1535. The importance which this office later assumed was evidently nor foreseen; for the salary assigned at first was only six thousand dollars, three thousand as viceroy, and three thousand as president of the audiencia. A sum of two thousand ducats was appropriated for the expenses of his bodyguard.

The viceroys, like the presidents, judges, and other royal officers in Spanish America, were hedged about with numerous restrictions. They might not hold more than

one office; they might not marry or contract for marriage within the districts of their authority; and their sons and daughters were under the same restriction. They were prohibited from engaging in any form of commercial enterprise. They might not leave their districts without a special licence from the king or the Council of the Indies; and they might not hold more than four slaves apiece. In the affairs of the government, the viceroy was expected to seek the advice of the audiencia, but that body had no power to determine his decision, yet in judicial matters the oidores were supreme, and the viceroy had no vote. He might, however, exercise the functions of captain-general.

The viceroy, who in the person of Mendoza now appears for the first time in Spanish America, represented the King of Spain. He stood at the head of the viceregal government, exercised his vast governmental powers with justice equally to all his subjects and vassals, and urged such measures as conduced to their peace and elevation. On assuming his duties, his first care, as indicated by the law, was to provide for the service of God and the preaching of the Christian faith for the benefit of the natives and the inhabitants of the provinces. He was charged to govern and defend his kingdom, to reward services rendered in the exploration, pacification, and population of the Indies; to collect and remit funds due the royal treasury; and to do everything which it would devolve upon the king to do were he governing in person, except in cases of special prohibition. All other officers and subjects, ecclesiastical and secular, were ordered to respect and obey him as the representative of the king. He was president of the royal audiencia, was captain-general of the provinces within his dominions, and in the exercise of his powers maintained the state and dignity of royalty. His court was "formed upon the model of that at Madrid, with horse and foot guards, a household regularly established, numerous attendants, and ensigns of command,

displaying such magnificence, as hardly retains the appearance of delegated authority."[1]

The newly-appointed viceroy, even before he reached the Indies, was treated with distinction. On arriving at Seville he was lodged in the Alcázar, and, accompanied by his family and guard, was transported to America without charge. On the voyage, the viceroy was general of the armada, or fleet, from the time of his departure from the port of San Lucar till his arrival at Porto Bello or Vera Cruz. In order to avoid the temptations to depart from a wise and impartial administration, the viceroy was enjoined from taking with him his married sons or daughters, his sons-in-law and his daughters-in-law. He was ordered, on the outward voyage, in passing the cities of Porto Bello and Cartagena, to inspect the public works, the artillery, the munitions, and the men-of-war, and to send to the king a detailed account of their condition and needs. Whenever the viceroy of Mexico was promoted to the viceroyalty of Peru, he was at liberty to take with him his furniture and wardrobe and all his servants, slaves, and other persons in his employment, without paying duty, but he was obliged to pay the accustomed costs of transportation. While making the voyage from Mexico to Peru, he was regarded by the generals, admirals, captains, masters, and owners of vessels as their superior, and they were required to obey and salute him, when not impeded by the peculiar circumstances of the voyage. When the viceroy entered the capital of Mexico or Peru for the first time, those engaged in the industries and trade might not be required to go out to receive him; nor should the towns and villages through which he passed be required to pay the expenses of his journey.

At the beginning of his term of service the viceroy obtained information as to the condition of affairs in his

[1] Robertson, *Works*, xi. 15; *Memorias de los Vireyes*, i. 287. See also Juan and Ulloa, *A Voyage to South America*, ii. 41.

dominions through conferences with his predecessor, and from a memorial, in which that officer gave an account of his administration, of the things accomplished, and of some of the things left undone. Within his dominions he exercised the pardoning power under essentially the same conditions as the King of Spain. He kept a record of the distribution of the Indians, and acted as a judge of first instance in cases in which they were involved; and in these cases an appeal lay to the audiencia. He had, moreover, the power to place the Indians in positions of feudal dependence, as provided by the laws relating to encomiendas, in case they were not already in this position at the time he assumed the duties of his office. The viceroy might be attended by a captain and a body of soldiers, the number of whom varied at different periods. The salary of the viceroy, moreover, was increased from time to time, but whether it was twenty thousand or sixty thousand ducats, it was reckoned from the day on which he assumed his duties until the arrival of his successor; and it was specifically provided that there should not be paid at any time two salaries for the same post. For the journeys from and to Spain six months each were allowed, and both voyages were made at the public expense.

The isolation of the viceroy's position helped to give his administration the independence of kingly rule. It is true that, like almost all of the offices in Spanish America, he was nominally checked in his functions by some other office. He might in the view of the law be checked by the audiencia, since both might correspond directly with the Council of the Indies. But the power and prestige of the viceroy gave him means of exercising a dominating influence over that body, as well as over subordinate civil or military authorities. He could not, however, create new offices or fix independently the term of his power.[1]

[1] Matienzo, Don Juan, *Gobierno del Perú*, parte ii. cap. i., ii.; *Recopilacion de leyes de los reynos de Indias*, lib. iii. tit. iii., contains laws which provide specifically for the powers and duties of the viceroys and presidents; Solórzano, *Política Indiana*, lib. v. cap. xii., xiii., xiv.

The ceremonies attending the arrival and installation of a new viceroy are described in detail by Juan and Ulloa:

"As soon as the viceroy lands at Payta," they write, "two hundred leagues from Lima, he sends a person of distinction as ambassador to inform the preceding viceroy of his arrival in Peru. The corregidor of Piura receives the viceroy at the port, furnishes him with whatever may be necessary for his journey, and accompanies him to the border of the neighbouring corregidor's district, constructing temporary structures for sheltering him in the uninhabited country where it may be necessary for him to stop. He finally arrives at Lima, and, without stopping, passes incognito to Callao, where he is received with all possible ceremony by one of the ordinary alcaldes of Lima, appointed for this purpose, and by the military officers.

"The next day all the courts, secular and ecclesiastical, wait on him from Lima, and he receives them under a canopy in the following order: the audiencia, the chamber of accounts, the cathedral chapter, the magistracy, the consulado, the inquisition, the tribunal de crusada, the superiors of the religious orders, the colleges, and other persons of eminence. On this day the judges attend the viceroy to an entertainment given by the alcalde: and all persons of note take a pride in doing the like to his attendants. At night there is a play, to which the ladies are admitted veiled, and in their usual dress, to see the new viceroy.

"The second day after his arrival at Callao he goes in a coach provided for him by the city, to the chapel de la Legua, so called from its being about half-way between Callao and Lima, a league from either city, where he is met by the late viceroy, and both alighting from their coaches, the latter delivers to him a truncheon as the ensign of the government of the kingdom. After this, and the usual compliments, they separate.

"If the new viceroy intends to make his public entry

into Lima in a few days, he returns to Callao, where he stays till the day appointed; but as a longer space is generally allowed for the many preparatives necessary to such a ceremony, he continues his journey to Lima, and takes up his residence in his palace, the fitting up of which on this occasion is committed to the junior auditor and the ordinary alcalde.

"On the day of public entry, the streets are cleaned and hung with tapestry, and magnificent triumphal arches erected at proper distances.[1] At two in the afternoon the viceroy goes privately to the church belonging to the monastery of Montserrat, which is separated by an arch and a gate from the street where the cavalcade is to begin. As soon as all who are to assist in this procession are assembled, the viceroy and his retinue mount their horses, provided by the city for this ceremony, and the gates being thrown open, the procession begins in the following order:

"The militia; the colleges; the university with the professors in their proper habits; the chamber of accompts; the members of the audiencia on horses with trappings; the magistracy, in crimson velvet robes lined with brocade of the same colour, and a particular kind of caps on their heads, a dress only used on this occasion. Some members of the corporation who walk on foot support the canopy over the viceroy, and the two ordinary

[1] It is reported that when the Duke de la Palata entered Lima as viceroy the merchants caused the streets through which he was to enter the plaza to be paved with ingots of silver for two squares. These ingots or bars were between twelve and fifteen inches long, four or five in breadth, and two or three in thickness. One writer estimates that the value involved was eighty millions of crowns. The viceroy was, however, not the only one honoured in this manner. On the occasion of the celebration of the canonisation of Santa Rosa at Lima, the pavement of the street called Mercaderes was covered with bars of silver; also, previously, on the occasion of the procession of Nuestra Señora de los Desamparados, "Todo el sitio que el claro del arco dejó para transito de la soberana imágen, se empedraron con mas de mil barras de plata, que por su magnitud y ley importaron dos millones." (Odriozola, *Documentos lit. del Perú*, iv. 368).

alcaldes, which are in the same dress, and walk in the procession, act as equerries, holding the bridle of his horse.

"This procession is of considerable length, the viceroy passing through several streets till he comes to the great square, in which the whole company alights, and is received by the archbishop and chapter. The Te Deum is then sung before the viceroy, and the officers placed in their respective seats; after which he again mounts his horse and proceeds to the palace gate, where he is received by the audiencia, and conducted to an apartment in which a splendid collation is provided, as are also others for the nobility in the antechambers.

"On the morning of the following day, he returns to the cathedral in his coach, with the retinue and pomp usual on solemn festivals, and public ceremonies. He is preceded by the whole troop of horse-guards, the members of the several tribunals in their coaches, and after them the viceroy himself with his family, the company of the halberdiers bringing up the rear. On this occasion all the riches and ornaments of the church are displayed, the archbishop celebrates, in his pontifical robes, the mass of thanksgiving; and the sermon is preached by one of the best orators of the chapter. From thence the viceroy returns to the palace attended by all the nobility, who omit nothing to make a splendid figure on the occasion. In the evening of this, and the two following days, the collations are repeated, with all the plenty and delicacy imaginable. To increase the festivity, all women of credit have free access to the halls, galleries, and gardens of the palace.

"To all this ceremony follow bull-fights which last for five days. The first three days are in honour of the viceroy; the last two are for the ambassador sent to announce his arrival. After the bull-fights come the ceremonies of reception by the university, the colleges,

and all the religious communities, with addresses and disputations which are subsequently published. The rector gathers those delivered by members of the university into a volume, which, bound in velvet and gold, he presents to the viceroy, accompanied by a piece of jewelry that is never of less value than eight hundred or a thousand dollars. Essentially the same procedure as that of the university is followed by the colleges and religious houses in the order of their establishment, and when the viceroy goes to visit them, they present him with the most notable things made by them."[1]

After all this ceremony the viceroy entered upon the routine of his administration, which was continued during the pleasure of the king; but the average term of the later viceroys of Peru was seven and a half years.

Prior to 1739, with the exception of the brief period of the viceroyalty of 1718, in New Granada, all the territory under Spanish rule in South America was subordinated to the authority of the viceroy of Peru. The city of Lima was the political capital of this vast domain. By the final establishment of the viceroyalty of Santa Fé, the New Kingdom of Granada, the north-western part of this territory was brought under a new viceroy. The south-eastern part of the continent continued under the jurisdiction of the viceroy of Peru until 1776, when the viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata was created. This distribution of territory was modified in 1796 by withdrawing certain districts north-west of Lake Titicaca from the viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata and adding them to the viceroyalty of Peru. In 1802 Peru acquired from the viceroyalty of Santa Fé the districts of Maynas and

[1] Juan and Ulloa, *A Voyage to South America*, ii. 46–50; Markham, *Cuzco and Lima*, 290; *Libro primero de cabildos de Lima*, part ii. 227–38. For this reception the law permitted the expenditure of twelve thousand dollars. The different items of this expenditure are indicated on pp. 237 and 238 of the *Libro primero* named above. Cobo, *Historia de Lima*, 93.

Quijos, except the town of Papallacta; and, in 1804, it was determined that the provinces of Guayaquil and Chiloé should be subject to the government of Lima.[1]

[1] Villaran, L. F., *La Constitucion Peruana*, 12, 13. A somewhat elaborate discussion of the subject of this chapter is contained in Cevallos, *Historia del Ecuador*, ii. cap. i.

CHAPTER XVI

NEW GRANADA UNDER AN AUDIENCIA

I. The establishment of the audiencia. II. The Benalcázar-Robledc episode. III. The creation of the archbishopric of New Granada. IV. The archbishop and the synod of 1556. V. The panic caused by the exploits of Lope de Aguirre. VI. The conflict between civilians and ecclesiastics. VII. The Archbishop of Bogotá. VIII. The president-governor and captain-general.

I

THE creation of an audiencia for Santa Fé de Bogotá, in 1549, marks an important step in the early social progress of New Granada, progress which resulted later in the organisation of the New Kingdom of Granada. When the audiencia was formed, provision was made through it to hold the residencia of Armendáriz, who resigned his office in favour of that body. Mercado, who had been appointed to be the president, was familiar with the procedure in cases of this kind, but after his death the power of the audiencia rested in the hands of two young and inexperienced lawyers, who were not disposed to assume the duty that had been particularly imposed upon the president. They were conscientious in their work, and won public favour by their amiability, their honesty, and their efforts to adjust differences peaceably, and to induce the colonists to avoid the contests of litigation. The period of their administration was, according to Acosta, " the golden age of Spanish justice in Santa Fé." [1]

The fact that the will of the Crown with respect to the residencia of Armendáriz had not been carried out, led

[1] Acosta, *New Granada*, 331.

to conflict between the local authorities and the agents of the Crown. And now, after several years, the visitador, Zurita, arrived to perform the neglected task. He found that, although certain complaints had been sent to the Crown concerning Armendáriz, that officer had been protected by the audiencia. The visitador was, therefore, obliged to withdraw without having been able to execute his purpose.

Captain Lancheros informed the Council of the Indies of the condition of affairs that led to Zurita's defeat, and thereupon Juan Montaño was sent to be a member of the audiencia, with orders to bring Armendáriz to trial. Under these orders, Armendáriz was seized, and treated with great indignity; the constables even stripped him of his clothing, which, it was said, they carried off as payment for their services. Finding Armendáriz in this predicament, Captain Lancheros magnanimously came to his assistance, and furnished him with the clothes and money needed for his journey to Spain, whither he was sent to be tried. In this trial, however, he was able to show that his conduct was justifiable. This case furnishes a fair illustration of one of the disagreeable features of official life as it was in the Spanish dependencies, where officers who had failed in the somewhat difficult task of pleasing everybody, were sometimes arrested and subjected to transportation to Spain to be tried, when no sufficient reason existed for imposing upon them this great hardship. This proceeding in some instances not only involved the accused in ruinous expenses, but it also robbed them of the opportunities of their best years. It often happened that the visitador sent by the Council of the Indies to examine the conduct of an official was worse than the person to be examined. This was clearly true in the case of Visitador Montaño. The tradition of his many acts of cruelty remained for decades in the community that had been afflicted by his presence. Having disposed of Armendáriz, he caused the oidores, Góngora and Galarza,

to be arrested for no other reason than because they had been disposed to countenance the acts of that officer; and this could hardly be construed as meriting punishment, since it was subsequently shown in Spain that there was no valid ground for the charges urged against him. Still, in his disregard for justice, Montaño caused the oidores to be embarked for Spain; but on the voyage thither they were lost in a shipwreck off the coast of Africa. Governor Pedro de Heredia and many other persons perished at the same time. The wrecked vessel carried also the documents in a case which had been prepared against Montaño. These were saved, and the visitador was later convicted and executed.[1]

Bogotá had become the capital of the kingdom of New Granada. The other colonies, Santa Marta, Cartagena, Popayan, and the rest, had local governors, who were subordinated to the president and audiencia of Bogotá; yet, in spite of this subordination, particularly with respect to judicial affairs, the several colonies, or provinces, continued to maintain a certain degree of independence.

[1] On Montaño's arrival in Bogotá, see Piedrahita, lib. xii. cap. i.; on the sending of Armendáriz, Góngora, and Galarza to Spain, and the loss of the oidores off the coast of Africa, see Piedrahita, lib. xii. cap iv.

"Y fué la residencia cometida
al licenciado dicho Juan Montaño,
que vino por oidor aquella era,
y para la tomar, por consiguiente,
á Góngora y Galarza que por causa
de ser al Miguel Díaz favorables
y los demás recuentros y pasiones
habidas con Alonso de Zorita,
estaban en consejo ya mal puestos,
pues fuera desta culpa no tenian
otra de que poder ser imputados,
antes en este reino tan bien quistos,
que les llamaban padres de la patria."

Castellanos, Juan de, *Historia del Nuevo Reino de Granada*, ii. 178.

Groot, *Historia de Nueva Granada*, i. 119; Simon, *Las Conquistas de Tierra Firme*, iii. 191.

In the years near the end of the first half and the beginning of the second half of the sixteenth century, a number of towns were established in the interior of New Granada. The most noteworthy of these were Pamplona (1549), in the territory of the Musos, and Ibagué (1551), in the territory of the Pijaos. Like many of the other settlements of Latin America, which were called cities, these were military outposts designed to bring into subjection the natives near whom they were established. Some of these settlements were not able to maintain themselves in the face of the hostile Indians, and were in the course of time abandoned. Others carried on the fight to a successful issue, and, having gained the mastery over the enemy, placed them under conditions which caused them rapidly to disappear. The tribes about Mariquita at the time of its foundation, in the middle of the sixteenth century, comprised more than thirty thousand men capable of bearing arms. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, there remained only two thousand five hundred. Of the eighteen thousand Indians of the Pijaos, all but six hundred disappeared in the course of fifty years. The bulk of these had been destroyed by smallpox, by work in the mines, and by the hopeless melancholy induced by observing the gradual ruin of their families and their tribes. Of all of the natives who came into contact with the Europeans in this part of America, the Pijaos were the most vigorous and the most barbarous. With respect to their force and their warlike disposition, they might be compared with the Araucanians, but, as to their customs, they were savages, and in their social practices many degrees below the natives of southern Chile. The early historians present them as cannibals, Zamora affirming that they had public markets for human flesh.[1]

[1] *Historia de la Provincia de San Antonio del Nuevo Reino de Granada, del Orden de Predicadores*, 349; Acosta, *Nueva Granada*, 332–7; Groot, *Historia de Nueva Granada*, i. 105–8; Simon, *Las Conquistas de Tierra Firme*, iii. 93–133.

II

Not long after the organisation of the audiencia, a third member in the person of Francisco Briceño arrived at Bogotá. A few months after his arrival, he went to Popayan to hold the trial, or residencia, of the governor, Sebastian de Benalcázar, who was charged with the death of Robledo. With the approval of Benalcázar, Robledo had made explorations and discoveries in the valley of the Cauca, and had founded there the city of Antioquia. Afterwards he went to Spain to obtain the governorship of this territory, which involved a request to have the territory subject to the governor of Popayan divided. Benalcázar was naturally offended at this action, and declared Robledo a traitor. In Spain, Robledo received the title of Marshal, and Armendáriz made him his lieutenant. When he returned from Spain, he was received by the inhabitants of Antioquia as their governor, but certain other towns stood firmly for Benalcázar, and resisted Robledo's pretensions. Benalcázar then made war on Robledo, arrested his messengers, and, on the night of October 1, 1546, took him prisoner, and charged him with being a traitor, a deserter, and a usurper. The case was brought before a council of war summoned by Benalcázar, and Robledo was condemned to death and executed. For this act Benalcázar was brought to trial before Briceño. The widow of Robledo had been active in instigating the prosecution, and when Benalcázar received the death sentence, it was said that Briceño, the judge, was influenced by the advocacy of the widow; for shortly after the trial he married her. Benalcázar appealed to the king, who annulled Briceño's decision. Groot, the historian of New Granada, affirms that everybody was surprised and scandalised by Briceño's act; for Benalcázar was regarded "as an honourable man, who had rendered great services, and who was generally beloved

for his personal qualities." In executing the judgment of the council of war, "he had not thought of playing the rôle of a criminal, and nevertheless, as such, under a sentence of death, he had appealed to the king. This idea filled him with melancholy, and preyed upon his mind in such a manner, that it caused his death when he was at Cartagena, in 1550, on his way to Spain." After the departure of Benalcázar, Briceño remained at the head of the government of Popayan.[1]

III

The return of Gonsalo Jiménez de Quesada from Spain to Bogotá was the beginning of the second period of his adventurous life. He had received the title of Marshal, and was made a life-member of the cabildo, with an income of three thousand ducats to be derived from the tribute of Indians not previously assigned. The inhabitants of the capital, who held the discoverer in esteem and affection, regarded the favours granted by the Crown as an inadequate compensation for the services which he had rendered. During the twelve years of his absence, the settlement which he founded had grown to be the political capital of an extensive territory. The Church recognised the importance which it had acquired, and caused Juan de los Barrios, Bishop of Santa Marta, to be transferred to Bogotá, where he was promoted to the office of archbishop. The papal authorisation of the

[1] Groot, *Historia de Nueva Granada*, i. 27, 105–11; Rodriguez Fresle, *Conquista y Descubrimiento del Nuevo Reino de Granada*, 41–3; Simon, *Las Conquistas de Tierra Firme*, iii. 280. Groot affirms, in a note, i. iii., that in the first edition of his work he followed Castellanos and Acosta, and expressed a very different opinion concerning Benalcázar from that given in the second edition, which is based on "el documento auténtico de la relación de meritos y servicios de don Sebastián de Benalcázar, presentada á la Corte de España." This document is printed as Appendix No. I of his *Historia de Nueva Granada*, i. 477–83; Mendiburu, viii. 281-3; Piedrahita, lib. xi. cap. viii.

transfer of the cathedral, with the prelate and the cabildo, to Bogotá, was issued at Rome, April 11, 1553.[1]

The elevation of Bogotá to be the seat of the metropolitan church excited great enthusiasm among the inhabitants, and when plans were formed for erecting a suitable edifice, a large number of persons were willing to contribute to the enterprise. Those who were able donated money or materials, and the poor gave their labour. The structure was built rapidly, but without the care and skill necessary for its stability. When it was completed, a day was fixed for its dedication, but on the eve of that day, it collapsed and became a useless ruin.[2]

IV

With the creation of the archbishopric of New Granada, the ecclesiastical organisation assumed a new importance by the side of the civil authorities. In 1556, Archbishop Barrios convoked a synod of the diocese, which, among other things, undertook to regulate the conduct of the clergy with respect to the Indians. The *Constituciones* issued by the assembly were designed to contain all the rules necessary for the guidance of the parish priests, the missionaries, the encomenderos, and all other persons whose duty it was to instruct the natives. The use of force to compel the natives to receive instruction was specifically prohibited. Although the priests did not always obey the injunctions of their ecclesiastical superiors, and sometimes set an evil standard for secular persons, by their greed, cruelty, and immoral practices, still the voice of the Church was almost the only voice that was

[1] Simon, *Las Conquistas de Tierra Firme*, iii. 191; Acosta, Joaquin, *Nueva Granada*, 343; Groot, *Historia de Nueva Granada*, i. 118, 484; Caicedo, Fernando, *Memorias para la historia de la catedral*.

[2] On the cathedral of Bogotá, see Vergara y Velasco, *Capítulos de una historia civil y militar de Colombia*, 20–23.

raised in favour of a just or charitable treatment of the Indians.[1]

If rules and investigations had been sufficient to produce and maintain right conduct on the part of civil and ecclesiastical officials in Spanish America, the Spanish dependencies would have presented an ideal state of political and religious life; but, unfortunately, the clergy did not always obey these rules, and the investigations into the conduct of civil officers could not obliterate the evil which they might have already committed. The visitador was not always an impartial judge, and sometimes he succumbed to temptations that made him blind to the errors he was expected to correct. The distance from court, and the infrequent communication, often rendered him confident that his malfeasance would not be discovered; and in this confidence his individual conscience was not always an effective check on his desire to share in the spoils of corruption.

On receiving a repartimiento, the encomendero assumed the duty to provide instruction in religion for the Indians, but from the beginning of the system this duty was neglected. When the organisation of the Church was completed by the creation of an archbishop, it began to assume with respect to the civil government the air of a co-ordinate, if not a superior, power. The synod uttered a protest against the neglect of the encomenderos in not having provided priests to instruct the natives, and to administer to them the sacraments, and in not having provided churches with the requisite ornaments and articles for the service. In view of this neglect, the archbishop and the assembly requested that the churches should be opened, that the encomenderos should provide and maintain religious teachers and priests, and all

[1] José Manuel Groot, the historian, has brought to light the *Constituciones sinodales*, and published them, or a large part of them, as Appendix III, in the first volume of his *Historia de Nueva Granada*. They are also referred to in the text of the same work, i. 120.

things necessary for divine worship. For their evil gains by reason of their carelessness and neglect with respect to religious instruction, it was desired by the Church that the encomenderos should make restitution and satisfaction in such form and amount as ought to be made, and that the manner in which this should be done might be determined by certain ecclesiastical officials.[1]

This attitude of the synod provoked opposition and resistance on the part of the encomenderos, who maintained that the utterance of that body involved a threat and censure, and was thus an offence to the civil authority. The cabildo, therefore, brought to the audiencia a complaint against the archbishop, and that body declared the action of the prelate and the assembly null and of no effect. This undue assumption of authority by the synod, although designed to promote the interests of the natives, was the cause of a temporary loss of ecclesiastical prestige. In the face of a repudiation of their authority by the audiencia, the *Constituciones* ceased to be regarded as important, and were soon forgotten. The episode is chiefly significant, therefore, merely as one of the numerous instances, in the Spanish dependencies, of ecclesiastical encroachment on the domain of the civil power, and of the rise of hostility between the encomenderos and the Church.[2]

With the establishment of the audiencia and the development of the government of the oidores at Bogotá, the prestige of the provincial governors declined. Bogotá became recognised as the seat of an authority which embraced within its jurisdiction the several provinces of New Granada. Cartagena, Popayan, and Santa Marta looked to the government established at Bogotá as to their superior; and when the dissensions that had arisen in the audiencia were allayed, the several settlements

[1] *Constituciones sinodales*, of June 3, 1556, titulo x. cap. ix.; printed as Appendix No. III. in Groot, i. 488–506.

[2] Groot, *Historia de Nueva Granada*, i. 123, 124.

constituting the new state appeared to be entering upon a period of peace and prosperity. But the prospect for a short time seemed to be less pleasing, when the inhabitants learned of the advance of Lope de Aguirre in Venezuela. The career of this remarkable tyrant furnishes a striking chapter in the history of crime. He was the evil genius of the Ursúa expedition into the valley of the Amazon.

V

Captain Pedro de Ursúa had been conspicuous in the military undertakings, and in the work of colonising in New Granada. He went to Lima in 1558, and appeared to the Marquis of Cañete, the viceroy of Peru, as the proper person to lead an expedition into the valley of the Amazon, with the design of continuing the search for El Dorado. The company of the expedition, when formed, embraced many persons whose desperate characters made the authorities of Peru anxious to be rid of them. The most perverse of these was Lope de Aguirre. Besides the recklessness of many of the men, another source of trouble was Inés de Atienza, a woman whom Ursúa was not willing to leave behind.[1] The company encamped on the bank of the Huallaga for the purpose of gathering equipment and constructing vessels for the voyage down the river. The first omen of evil was the assassination of the commander, Pedro Ramiro, prompted by jealousy and the disappointment of two other officers who had aspired to his position.

Towards the end of September 1560, the preparations for the journey were complete, and the company proceeded in vessels down the Huallaga and the Marañon. They were carried along by the current to the mouth of the Putumayo, and here, in the heart of the continent,

[1] Inés de Atienza was a daughter of Blas de Atienza, a resident of the city of Trujillo, and the widow of Pedro de Arcos, a resident of Piruta (Simon, i. 250).

they landed and formed an encampment. The lawless spirit that had shown itself in the murder of Ramiro, manifested itself here in open rebellion. The provoking cause was the appointment of Juan de Vargas to be Ursúa's lieutenant. The rebellion was led by Lope de Aguirre, and resulted in the death of both Vargas and Ursúa. The disappearance of the two principal leaders threw the affairs of the expedition into the hands of Aguirre, who became the maestre de campo, while Fernando de Guzman was proclaimed general. The extreme and uncompromising attitude of Aguirre is seen in the fact that while Guzman was disposed to seek to justify the course of the revolt, Aguirre was opposed to any action that would seem to suggest an apology; he even sought to have his followers renounce their allegiance to the king. At one time he contemplated a return to Peru for the purpose of establishing an independent government, and Guzman was selected to be the sovereign prince of that country. At a subsequent landing a number of persons were murdered, who were supposed not to be in sympathy with Aguirre's plans, or who might in any way hinder their execution. These murders were the beginnings of a long series of similar acts, directed by Aguirre and carried out in cold blood. Their details, as presented by Padre Simon, show the utter inhumanity of Aguirre and the terror he had inspired among his followers. Among those taken off at this time were Doña Inés, Captain Salduendo, who was conspicuous in his devotion to her, Alonso Montoya, the admiral Miguel Bodebo, Gonzalo Duarte, Miguel Serrano, Baltazar Cortés Cano, the chaplain Alonso Henao, and Fernando de Guzman, who had been proclaimed king of Peru.[1]

[1] Sir Clements R. Markham takes the part of Castellanos in that writer's chivalrous defence of Doña Inés. He says:

"Castellanos' version of the bloody career of Aguirre is remarkable because he stands up as the champion of the unfortunate lady who accompanied Ursúa, while all other writers, whether they be men of the world, like Vasquez and Orteguera, or greasy friars, like Simon and Piedrahita, unite in heaping reproaches and calumnies upon her . . .

The encampment where these murders were committed was called the *matanza*. Before the members of the expedition left the river, they constructed better vessels, with which they might venture upon the ocean. When these were completed, they proceeded towards the mouth of the river. For this last stage of the journey, Aguirre had selected two hundred men, and abandoned the rest to their fate, in a place where there were no available means either for escape or support. The expedition passed out of the river in June 1561, and shortly afterwards landed on the island of Margarita. Here Aguirre took as prisoners those persons who came out to receive him, killed Diego Alvarez and the two captains, Gonzalo Guiral de Fuentes and Sancho Pizarro, and gave up the town and royal treasury to be pillaged.

In Venezuela, Aguirre pursued a career of unparalleled brutality. He took and sacked one town after another —Burburata, Tocuyo, Merida, Trujillo, Valencia, Barquisimeto—and murdered without compunction some of his own men, the officials and the other inhabitants of the towns. While he lived the inhabitants of the regions through which he and his bloodthirsty followers passed were paralysed with terror.[1]

The terror which Aguirre inspired in Venezuela was communicated to the inhabitants of Bogotá. The government of New Granada was at that time in the hands of the audiencia, and the members were Grajeda, Arteaga, Angulo, and Villafañe. As they were civilians, without military experience, they organised a junta, or committee,

Castellanos, like the true gentleman that he evidently was, defends the memory of the poor young lady, the beautiful young widow of a citizen of Piura. . . . The very sublimity of this noble creature's devotion, which no terrors could daunt, no hardship damp, ought to have protected her from the cowardly sneers of dirty friars and the calumnies of gold-seeking adventurers."—Markham's *Introduction* to Bollaert's translation of Simon's *Sixta Noticia Historial*, xxxiv–xxxvi.

[1] Simon, *Las Conquistas de Tierra Firme*, i. 244–342 (Sexta Noticia Historial). An English translation of these chapters is found in the publications of the Hakluyt Society. Groot, *Historia de Nueva Granada*, i. 128–32; Baralt y Diaz, *Historia de Venezuela*, i. 213–20; Mendiburu, i. 74–8, viii. 170–3.

of notables to consider what acts should be taken to avert the impending danger. Before the junta, the oidor, Grajeda, made a comprehensive statement of the circumstances in which they were placed, of the information that had been received concerning the number of Aguirre's soldiers, the outrages they had committed, and of the fate that awaited the inhabitants of New Granada unless effective measures for defence were taken.

Messages were sent to Cartagena, Popayan, Santa Marta, and other towns, requesting them to raise such forces as might be necessary to check the invader. Captains were appointed, and the junta voted unanimously for Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada as the person best fitted to hold the general command. The anxiety and the preparations for defence continued until the arrival of an announcement of Aguirre's death. He had been deserted by many of his followers, and had become convinced that he had reached the end of his career. Finding himself at bay, he murdered his daughter, in order, as he said, that she might not fall into the hands of his enemies. Thereafter he was shot by his own men, and his body was delivered to Pedro Bravo, who was leading the company in pursuit of him.[1]

Aside from the fact that he caused the untimely death of a large number of persons, his career is not especially noteworthy, except as furnishing an example of extreme depravity and merciless brutality. He effected no important change in the public affairs of Venezuela. In its outward events, his life after he joined the expedition of Ursúa, might be compared, on a large scale, with that peculiar form of temporary madness known among the Malays as running amuck.[2]

[1] Groot, *Historia de Nueva Granada*, i. 127–32; Acosta de Samper, *Biografías*, 274–87; Piedrahita, lib. xii. cap. viii.

[2] Humbert, *Les Origines Vénézuéliennes*, 38–50; Rojas, *Estudios historicos*, 157; Bollaert, *Expedition of Pedro de Ursúa*, Hakluyt Society (London, 1861); *Relacion breve fecha por Pedro de Monguia*, in *Doc inéd.*, Col. of Torres de Mendoza, iv. 191, 215; Oviedo y Baños, lib.

VI

The danger of a conflict with invaders disappeared with the death of Lope de Aguirre; but a little later an internal controversy arose between the audiencia and the archbishop. The previous controversy, in which the archbishop, supported by the synod, attempted to prescribe the conduct of the encomenderos, resulted in the prelate's discomfiture; but in this instance he was more successful. It involved the question, whether the right of asylum in the cathedral should be respected by the civil government. It arose in connection with a priest, against whom legal action had been brought in Lima. The accused priest fled to Bogotá, and at about the time of his arrival in the city, the audiencia received a requisition, asking that he be returned to Lima as a prisoner. Without waiting to consult the archbishop, the audiencia issued an order for his arrest. The priest, learning that such an order had been given, took refuge in the cathedral. The audiencia then sent one of its members to take him from his asylum. On entering the church, the oidor and the constables were met by the archbishop and several members of the clergy, who attempted to prevent the proposed arrest. The constables, however, put down the opposition, unchecked by any respect for the office or dignity of those who made it. As soon as the criminal was taken from the church, the archbishop put forth demands for redress, and threatened the oidores with ecclesiastical condemnation. This was, however, ignored

iv. cap. i. and ii.; Baralt y Diaz, i. cap. xii.; Southey, R., *The Expedition of Ursua and Lope de Aguirre*, chap. i.; Deberle, *Histoire de l'Amirique du Sud* (1897), 41; Ortiguera, Toribio de, *Jornada de Río Marañon con todo lo acaecido en ella, y otras cosas notables dignas de ser sabidas acaecidas en las Indias occidentales*, in *Nueva Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, xv. 305–422; *Relacion verdadera de todo lo que sucedió en la jornada de Omagua y Dorado que el gobernador Pedro de Orsúa fué á descubrir por poderes y comisiones que le dió el visorrey Marques de Cañete*, in *Nueva Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, xv. 423–484.

by the audiencia, and the prelate, seeing the immunities of the cathedral violated without respect for the traditions of the Church, prepared to depart for Spain to present the matter to the attention of the Crown. This action had the desired effect. The people were aroused and alarmed, and the oidores, fearing a popular uprising, were compelled to yield. They sent messengers to overtake the archbishop, who were charged to ask him to return to the city, and to inform him that the priest had been restored to the sanctuary from which the constables had taken him. At the same time they were authorised to request the archbishop to absolve them from the censure of the Church. This he was willing to do, but he required the fiscal and the oidores to undergo a penance. When, therefore, they went out of the city to meet him, he absolved them, and, as a penance, they were compelled to dismount and return to the city on foot. Thus, surrounded by a great crowd of the populace, they walked back to the city, as a part of the triumphal procession of the returning archbishop.[1]

VII

The antagonism which arose between the Church and the secular elements of society, after the publication of the *constitutiones* of 1556, manifested itself also in the different designs of the two classes with respect to the Indians. Many of the ecclesiastics wished to secure for the Indians a large measure of independence, sometimes, perhaps, under entirely impracticable conditions; while the encomenderos were chiefly concerned in securing, on advantageous terms, as complete control over their services as possible.

A prominent champion of the Indians in New Granada was the Dominican priest, San Luis Beltran. He had been in Mexico as a professor of theology; had been

[1] Groot, *Historia de Nueva Granada*, i. 138.

prior of several monasteries; and had returned to Spain to advocate the interests of the Indians, when, in 1561, he was appointed Bishop of Popayán. He arrived in New Granada in 1562, and after the devoted labours of seven years among the Indians living between the Magdalena and the sierras of Santa Marta, he was recalled to Spain, "leaving," according to Groot, "the archbishop, Juan de los Barrios, the monks of the monastery, and all the inhabitants of the city of Bogotá full of grief." [1]

Archbishop Barrios died in 1569, and four years later Luis Zapata de Cárdenas arrived in Bogotá as his successor. Archbishop Zapata issued a catechism, and formulated certain *constituciones*, or rules, for bringing the natives to a knowledge of the Catholic faith, as well as for making them acquainted with some of the forms and customs of civilised life. These rules were designed also to serve as instructions for the ecclesiastics, prescribing their conduct, and specifying what they might properly require of the Indians under their guidance.[2] Zapata died in 1590, and the archiepiscopal see remained vacant for nine years, until the appointment of Bartelomé Lobo Guerrero, in 1599. In the intervening years three appointments were made before Lobo Guerrero was named. Two of these, Alonso Lôpez de Avila, Archbishop of Santa Domingo, and Bartelome Martinez Menacho, Bishop of Panama, died before they were able to enter upon their duties. A third, Andrés Caso, when about to go to Bogotá, accepted another appointment.

The reputation gained by some members of the clergy, and their uncompromising attitude towards secular affairs, often placed the civil government in serious embarrassment. This was the case when this government was conducted by an audiencia as a collegiate executive. It

[1] *Historia de Nueva Granada*, i. 137.

[2] Extracts from the *constituciones* of Archbishop Zapata are printed as Appendix No. 4, in Groot, *Historia de Nueva Granada*, i. 507–16, who describes them as "precioso monumento de nuestras antigüedades eclesiasticas" (*Ibid.*, p. 153).

might happen that a part of the members would be under the domination of ecclesiastical ideas, thus establishing in the body a breach which rational arguments could not heal; for men frequently hold most tenaciously to views which cannot be supported by either known facts or by arguments designed to appeal to their logical faculties. In New Granada, the supreme local authority was vested in the audiencia from 1550 till 1564, when Andrés Diaz Venero de Leiva arrived in Bogotá, appointed to be the first President-Governor and Captain-General. He had been Fiscal of the Council of the Indies, and in his new office he was clothed with the essential rights and prerogatives of a viceroy. His knowledge of American affairs derived through his connection with the Council enabled him to conduct the business of his government without neglecting the temporal interests or antagonising the Church.

VIII

It devolved upon the first President of New Granada to close the breach between the civil and ecclesiastical branches of the government, and this he was in a large measure able to accomplish by reason of his sympathy with the designs and purposes of the Church. Already many towns had been established, and these had contributed to the formation of peaceful relations with many of the native tribes; and now, in the period of Venero de Leiva's administration, much attention was given to the organisation of religious houses in these towns. This work was furthered by the royal decree of December 6, 1556, through which it was ordered that Dominican monasteries might be founded wherever they were believed to be necessary. It was, moreover, required that the expenses involved in these foundations should be borne by the royal treasury, where the natives were held

immediately under the Crown, but by the encomenderos where the Indians had been subjected to them.[1]

The harmony maintained between the civil and ecclesiastical branches of the government permitted the president effectively to carry on the work of administration. He secured the execution of the laws and ordinances respecting the alcaldes, the corregidores, and the police. He regulated work in the gold mines and in the emerald mines of Mozo; opened and repaired roads; built bridges; substituted beasts of burden for Indians in the transportation of goods; and encouraged the natives to devote themselves to agriculture. He provided for official interpreters, through whom the Indians might bring their complaints to the government; regulated the proceedings of the audiencia so that justice might be properly administered; and reformed the administration of the royal treasury. Hitherto the gold that had been used in exchange had circulated in its crude form, or as gold dust; but the president sought to set aside the inconveniences of this medium of exchange, by causing the gold to be coined, or officially stamped, and by prohibiting transactions with unminted gold. In order to avoid the evils of absenteeism, he required the encomenderos to live in the districts where they held encomiendas. After conducting the affairs of New Granada successfully for ten years, President Venero de Leiva returned to Spain, in 1573, and resumed his former office of Fiscal of the Council of the Indies.[2]

It is sometimes said that President Venero established primary schools for both the children of the natives and of Europeans, but very little was done towards providing instruction in New Granada before or during his term of office. Bishop Loayza formed a plan for the instruction of the sons of caciques, and received a royal

[1] A number of laws relating to the president in his relations with the members of the audiencia may be consulted in *Leyes de Indias*, lib. ii. tit. xvi.

[2] Groot, *Historia de Nueva Granada*, i. 145.

licence permitting him to establish a school for that purpose; but before he was able to carry out this plan, he was transferred to the newly-formed diocese of Lima. By a decree of April 27, 1554, the Spanish Crown sought to provide instruction for the Indians. It was thus the desire to instruct the natives that prompted the first two efforts to found schools in New Granada. A little later, in 1555, a decree was issued to provide instruction for Spanish orphans and mestizos. These decrees, however, proved to be only resolutions of good intentions; for it was not until 1576, more than twenty years later, that the first school was actually founded. This appears to have been a secular institution, but it was not long maintained.[1]

On the withdrawal of President Venero, the administration fell into the hands of the audiencia, who conducted it for about two years, until the arrival of Francisco Briceño, the second president, in March 1575. Briceño had been an oidor in Bogotá, in 1553, and had later held the office of president in Guatemala. He died suddenly in December, a few months after he reached Bogotá, and left the oidores again in control of the government. Under the audiencia, instead of the internal peace of the

[1] Vergara, *Historia de la Literatura en Nueva Granada*, 61. It is interesting to note the judgments of some of the early writers concerning President Venero. Juan Rodriguez Fresle, writing in 1636, says: "El presidente mantenía á todos en paz y justicia; ponía gran calor en la conversion de los naturales, mandándolos poblar juntos en sus pueblos, fomentando las iglesias de ellos. Envió un oidor de la Real Audiencia á visitar la tierra y á dar calor á la poblazón de los naturales, y á defenderlos y desagraviarlos. Fué muy agradable el tiempo de su gobierno, y llamáronle el 'siglo dorado.'"—*Conquista del Nuevo Reino de Granada*, 51. Padre Zamora, in his *Historia de la Provincia Dominicana de San Antonio*, refers to the fact that all of the ecclesiastics thought of him as the *Padre del Nueva Granada;* but Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada, in his *Compendio Historial*, says, "Que Venero fué hombre rencoroso y vengativo; que tuvo competencias con los frailes dominicanos, y que las últimas fueron tales, que publicamente lo llamaron *Destructor del Nuevo Reino.*" Undoubtedly the unpleasant personal relations that existed between the disappointed explorer and the president had much influence in determining Quesada's opinion.

preceding period, there were conflicts with the archbishop, and complaints about the despotic rule of the oidores, until, finally, in 1578, they were superseded by the new president, Lope Díaz Aux de Armendáriz.

In 1579, the inhabitants of Bogotá had reason to turn away from the disgraceful internal quarrels of the government, and mark the death of Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada. Forty years before he had led the survivors of his great expedition up through the tropical wilderness, and here laid the foundation of Bogotá; and now that the stormy life of the old explorer was ended, the monks, the secular clergy, the president, the judges of the audiencia, the members of the other tribunals, and men of every sort turned from their ordinary occupations to unite in doing honour to their hero, and to place over his grave the standard of the conquest.

The circumstances of the officials at the capital were not favourable for the maintenance of internal peace. These officials constituted a small company, more or less apart from the society of the town. They suffered the evils incident to a little isolated community: they became the victims of jealousy and mutual hatred, which manifested themselves not only in attempts to defeat the practical projects which one or another designed to carry out in the work of his office, but also in efforts to undermine the characters of their opponents through correspondence with the king or the Council of the Indies. Suspicions thus aroused in the minds of the authorities in Spain led to the appointment of visitadores at irregular intervals, who, as already suggested, were often quite as vicious as the officials they were sent to investigate. Thus the institution of the visitador, which was designed to furnish a legal check on the conduct of the president, the judges, or any other officer who might be indicated in instructions, proved not infrequently to be only an additional source of local disturbance and social demoralisation. It sometimes happened that a visi-

tador, returning to Spain, took back with him as prisoners not only the visitador who had been sent out before him, but also a number of the officials into whose public conduct he had been commissioned to inquire. The affairs of the higher officials at Bogotá at this period present a case of serious confusion, which was aggravated by scandals, in which two or three of the especially prominent women of the community were involved.

The events of the last two decades of the century indicate that, with respect to its social affairs, the kingdom had approached very near anarchy. The audiencia had suspended President Armendáriz, and the antagonism between the visitador, Orellana, and the oidores of the audiencia had produced a division of the inhabitants into two parties; one party supported the visitador, and the other took the part of the audiencia. There were not wanting, moreover, persons to make misrepresentations to one party or the other, and the influence of these was to widen the breach between them. The division extended beyond the city, and persons who came from the neighbouring towns immediately ranged themselves on one side or the other. The audiencia undertook to depose the visitador, and that officer in turn proclaimed the suspension of the oidores. Each party had a small armed force at command, and not much was wanting to precipitate active hostilities. At this point the archbishop appeared on the scene and asserted his medieval pretentions. He required soldiers to lay down their arms and withdraw from the contest, and threatened excommunication in case of refusal. Although his first attempt to avert the struggle which seemed to be impending was without effect, now that it was proposed to launch the thunderbolt of divine wrath, it was thought by those who were ready for war that the time had come to run for cover; and within an hour not a man was to be found in the plaza, where the forces of the audiencia had been assembled.[1]

[1] Groot, *Historia de Nueva Granada*, i. 178–80.

This political comedy had a not unusual tragic ending. President Armendáriz continued under suspension until his death, in 1584. Orellana, the visitador, suspended Pérez de Salazar and Gaspar de Peralta, the two oidores who appeared to him especially obnoxious; and took them, together with the secretary, Francisco Velásquez, to Spain as prisoners. The Council of the Indies disapproved of these arrests, and sent Orellana himself to prison, where he died without property. Secretary Velásquez, whom he had imprisoned, paid the expenses of his burial. The oidores were exonerated. Salazar became the Fiscal of the Council, and Peralta was restored to his place as member of the audiencia of Bogotá.[1]

These internal quarrels, which left the civil government more or less discredited, gave the archbishop an opportunity to magnify his importance. He sought to complete the cathedral, in order that the ceremonies of worship might acquire a greater splendour, and the authorities of the Church thereby greater prestige. He celebrated a Provincial Council, in order through it to fix the discipline of the Church; and by providing for the proper education of priests, he hoped to increase their influence in public affairs. The refusal of the Bishop of Popayán to attend the Council, on the ground that his bishopric did not lie within the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Bogotá, gave rise to an ecclesiastical controversy, which, taken together with the disposition of the bishops to quarrel with the provincial governors, helped at least to avert social stagnation.[2]

While the interior settlements, in spite of their local quarrels, were slowly advancing towards civilisation, some of the towns on the coast suffered great losses through the assaults and plundering of Sir Francis Drake and his piratical followers. At Riohacha, in 1585, Drake

[1] Groot, *Historia de Nueva Granada*, i. 180.
[2] *Ibid.*, i. 181.

obtained a large quantity of pearls, and then burned the town. In December of the same year, he entered Santa Marta, which he sacked and burned. On the 9th of February of the following year, he appeared before Cartagena with nineteen ships, flying the black flag, and threatening war to the death. A month before this date the inhabitants had been informed from Santo Domingo of Drake's proposed attack, and prepared for such resistance as they were able to make. But this was not effective, and for forty-eight days Drake held the city. From certain negroes he learned where the gold, silver, pearls, and jewellery were concealed, great quantities of which he carried off. He took also eighty pieces of artillery and the bells of all the churches. When he was able to find nothing more, he demanded four hundred thousand ducats as a ransom for the city. At a conference between Drake and a committee of the citizens, this sum was scaled to one hundred and seven thousand pesos, which was paid in money, pearls, and jewellery. Drake's receipt for this amount was dated April 2, 1586. The monastery and the slaughter-house were outside of the city, and Drake affirmed that these were not covered by the ransom paid, and that they would be burned unless an additional sum was advanced. The monks were, therefore, obliged to pay one thousand pesos, and give up four bells; while Alonso Hidalgo Bravo, the owner of the slaughter-house, paid five thousand pesos, for which he received a receipt executed in proper form. The spoils from Cartagena amounted to about four hundred thousand dollars. But this plundering of the coast of New Granada was not wholly disadvantageous to the colonies. It spread abroad the fame of the country's riches, which stimulated immigration and a consequent rapid increase of the population.[1]

In spite of the imperfect police control in the kingdom, thieving was not an especially frequent crime. One of

[1] Rodriguez Fresle, 111–13; Groot, i. 186–89.

the residents of Bogotá, Captain Taléns, reason to be surprised when masked bur at his bedside one night, and, with their to strike, demanded the keys to the desk known to keep a large amount of money. the keys, and the thieves took the money No investigations could discover the bur mine their identity, and no one was arrested had adjusted himself to his poverty, wh later the burglars appeared again. He s impossible for him to defend himself aga he told them that he had nothing, becaus who looked like them had visited him carried off everything he had. "We are sons," they replied, "but we do not come anything, rather to bring back that which w gether with its proper interest. It was n at that time to resort to this means, in orde a certain commercial enterprise, not hav resource; but always with the intention o money to you." Having said this, the b leaving the money on the table.[1]

After the suspension of President Arme oidores, Salazar and Peralta, the governn was conducted by Chaparro, the remaini the audiencia, until the arrival of the Antonio González. González had been a Council of the Indies, and arrived in B accompanied by Gaspar de Peralta, who ha to his place in the audiencia after Orellar him and taken him to Spain. President also accompanied by Francisco Victoria Linero, members of the Society of Jesus, ar of the same order. These were the first New Granada. They were taken to F purpose of founding a school; but Arch

[1] Groot, i. 192.

died in 1590, the year in which they reached the city, and they retired from the field with nothing accomplished.

Under orders, and with authority conferred by the king, the president issued ordinances for the corregidores of natives. These officers were agents of the government, appointed to protect the Indians, and to secure for them such treatment as would induce them to accept the teachings of the Church and adopt the ways of civilised life. They were expected to exercise an influence that would limit the arbitrary acts of the encomenderos, whose object was to derive the maximum advantage from the labour of the Indians. Under the president's ordinances the encomenderos were prohibited from forcing the Indians to work for them on their estates; they might receive the services of the natives only in case the natives were willing to work, and then on condition of paying them wages, in accordance with the provisions of the royal decrees. The corregidores of natives were, moreover, prohibited from trading with the Indians, and from holding estates within the limits of their jurisdiction as corregidores.[1]

Another reform proposed by President González was the introduction of the alcabala, a tax imposed on the price of articles at the time of their sale. This project was met with vigorous resistance, and the community was threatened with a revolt like that which appeared in Quito at this time, provoked by the same cause. But, at this stage of the proceedings, an argument in favour of the tax, made by the distinguished Dominican friar, Pedro Bedón, allayed the dissatisfaction, and removed most of the objections to the collection of the tax. But the recommendation of the friar to the contrary notwithstanding, the alcabala was an obnoxious impost. It

[1] Groot, i. 200–2. The more important parts of President González's Ordinances for the Government and Regulation of the Corregidores of the Natives are printed in Groot, *Historia de Nueva Granada*, i. 516–20, constituting Appendix No. 5.

hindered the transfer of goods, and thus, discourage buying and selling, it contrib commercial stagnation, which was a more minent characteristic of Spanish civilisatio

González held the post of governor for and during this period he founded a numl San Juan de Isima, San Juan de Pedrosa, N Nueva Sevilla, Becerril de Campos, and Sa Ávila; but towns founded in this manner, t tive caprice, might or might not be neede there was no permanent demand, and they abandoned. More foresight appears to ha played in conquering the region at the Magdalena and establishing Honda there the capital. González resigned the preside and was appointed Fiscal of the Council of t

The sixteenth century closed during the a of Francisco de Sande, the successor of Presid

[1] Rodriguez Fresle, 115–22; Groot, i. 199

CHAPTER XVII

GIRON'S REBELLION AND THE REIGN OF THE MARQUIS OF CAÑETE

I. Ecclesiastical changes. II. Anarchy. III. Hernandez Giron's rebellion. IV. Andres Hurtado do Mendoza and Sairi-Tupac.

I

THE slow development of New Granada in the last half of the sixteenth century was due to many causes: to the unfavourable climatic conditions of the coast; to the difficulty of reaching the interior highlands of Bogotá; to the absence of any important sources of wealth; and to the superior attractions offered by the fabulous riches of Peru. The marvellous story of Atahualpa's ransom had not ceased to excite the avaricious before Potosi and other mines of Upper Peru began to pour forth their apparently inexhaustible treasures.

The mines of Potosi had been worked for six years when the second Viceroy of Peru, Antonio de Mendoza, arrived in Lima, September 23, 1551. For fifteen years he had been the Viceroy of Mexico, and now, near the end of his life, he undertook reluctantly the task of restoring peace and order to the troubled society of Peru. During his brief administration of somewhat less than ten months, the bishopric of Chuquesaca was created, the University of Lima was founded in the Dominican monastery, and the order of St. Augustine was established in Lima. The first code of judicial procedure for Peru was issued by Mendoza, and in this document were established rules fixing the jurisdiction and functions of the various judicial officers and attachés of the courts.[1]

[1] *Doc. inéd.*, viii. 55.

During the period of Mendoza's admini over, was held the first Provincial Counci was convoked by Archbishop Loayza. T drawn up by this assembly constituted th astical ordinances formulated in South A as they were not enforced, they are import indicating the rules that were approved b to govern its treatment of the Indians.[1]

The burden of the government was too failing strength of the viceroy. He died and his body was buried in the cathedral of

II

On the death of Mendoza, the supreme authority fell again into the hands of the au state of affairs had not been greatly impro the audiencia during its previous rule or by the viceroy. The population of Upper I creasing rapidly in the beginning of the la sixteenth century. The principal towns, easily and rapidly acquired wealth, were abl very early many of the prominent features o and the extensive revenues of some of enabled them to engage in enterprises t large expenses, some of which were directe legitimate government. In fact, during the the middle of the century, no government ha on the people, and after the departure of Gasca, the very foundations of social order be broken up. From the beginning of the tween Pizarro and Almagro to the overthro

[1] The substance of these rules is presented by L *del Perú bajo la dinastía austriaca*, 1542–98, 210– Reginaldo de, *Descripcion breve de toda la tierra del Rio de la Plata, y Chile* (*Nueva Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, xv.),

[2] Mendiburu, v. 254.

of Gonzalo Pizarro, the inhabitants of Upper Peru had at all times reason to be in doubt with respect to the authority to whom their allegiance was properly due. This state of things fostered discontent with any government that happened for the time being to be dominant. The general dissatisfaction with Gasca's distribution of encomiendas and the restriction imposed on the employment of the Indians intensified this discontent and prepared the way for conspiracies and rebellion. After Gasca's departure, the supreme power was nominally exercised by the audiencia, but practically the greater part of the kingdom was in a state of political chaos. A band of conspirators, led by Sebastian de Castilla, murdered Hinojosa, the Corregidor of La Plata, May 6, 1553. After Hinojosa's death, Egas de Guzman led a revolt in Potosi. He met with little resistance, but he killed a number of persons, imprisoned the royal officials, plundered the royal treasury, and carried off, it is said, more than a million pesos. Guzman formed a government for Potosi, named officials and employees, appointed Antonio Lujan alcalde, and organised a body of soldiers.[1]

There was apparently no safety for anyone. Five days after the death of Hinojosa, Sebastian de Castilla, the leader of the conspirators who had committed the murder, was assassinated. When Lujan learned, through a letter from Juan González, that Castilla had been killed by those who had favoured him and had given him his position, he resolved to accede to the suggestion that he should kill Guzman, who had appointed him to be the alcalde of Potosi. Guzman was consequently arrested, placed in irons, and finally, by the order of Vasco Godinez, was dragged through the streets and quartered.

As a part of the reactionary movement which followed the revolt in La Plata and Potosi, the audiencia appointed Marshal Alvarado to be the Corregidor, Justicia-Mayor, and Captain-General of Charcas. At the same time the

[1] Mendiburu, iv. 218; v. 97.

audiencia authorised him to raise troops, ta
the royal treasury, and subdue and punish
of the peace. He carried out his instruct
rigour that he became known by many pe
In La Paz and Potosi he applied with me
the laws against the promoters of se
Godinez, who had appropriated the repartir
josa, hoped to escape punishment on acco
duct with respect to Egas de Guzman; bu
examination of his nefarious conduct, hi
character appeared in their true light, and
to suffer the punishment which he had ca
flicted on Guzman. For five months nea
had its victims, who were taken out of the c
to be executed on the gallows or publicly
the severity of Alvarado's measures did
general discontent. All respect for life, la
appeared to be broken down, and the inl
apparently ready for a general rebellion.
fore, Francisco Hernandez Giron raised th
revolt, he found followers everywhere.[1]

III

Francisco Hernandez Giron, born at
Estramadura, had accompanied Gutierrez
1535, and, on the failure of that enterprise,
to Peru. He served with Aldana in I
appointed a captain in the service of Blasc
and fell into the hands of Gonzalo Pizarr
prisoner of war at the battle of Añaquito.
he was engaged in the battle of Jaquij
many others, he was dissatisfied with Ga
tion of rewards, although he had receive
miento of Jaquijaguana, which produce
annual income of nine thousand *castellanos*.

[1] Lorente, *Historia del Perú bajo la dinastía*
Fernandez, *Historia del Perú*, parte ii. lib. ii. cap. xxi

missioned him to command an expedition to the territory of the Chunchos, and authorised him to enlist soldiers and take such other measures as might be necessary in preparing for the conquest. When he appeared with his soldiers in Cuzco, the citizens protested against his presence with a body of armed followers, and his later attitude towards the authorities justified their fears. He was arrested and condemned to death, but the sentence was not confirmed. He was sent to Lima, where the audiencia took his side in the controversy, set him free under bail, and permitted him to return to Cuzco. He had no intention of proceeding against the Chunchos, and wished to use his authority to enlist soldiers simply to provide for his proposed insurrection. At Cuzco, the knowledge that his conduct was under investigation by Alvarado, and that an order for his imprisonment might appear at any moment, made him desperate, and persuaded him of the necessity of immediate action.

The audiencia, endowed with only transitory authority, was lacking both in prestige and efficiency; and there was a rare combination of circumstances, which made for unrest and disorder: the great distances between the towns; the difficulties of communication; the large body of Indians trained to submission, and as willing to serve one party as another; the ambition of the conquistadores to rule, and their reluctance to submit to law; soldiers whose chief desire was for spoils or repartimientos as rewards for services; priests who preached peace, but who were not unwilling to take part in conflicts; the dissatisfaction caused by rewards bestowed by Gasca on persons who had joined his ranks after they had abandoned the cause of Pizarro; and the fighting habit that had been engendered in the civil wars.[1] All these facts were elements of a social state, in which peace, order, and a healthy progressive movement were temporarily quite out of the question.

[1] Lorente, *Historia del Perú bajo la dinastía austriaca*, 228.

After Hernandez Giron had initiated
Cuzco and taken possession of the town, h
house of the corregidor a number of dec
been framed by the audiencia; and knov
were obnoxious to the encomenderos and t
caused them to be published, expecting by
tion to turn many persons against the exist
audiencia, and thus induce them to supp
taking. His design, he affirmed, was not
personal advantage, but to liberate the cou
tyranny of the oidores. Having accompl
would return willingly to private life. C
points to a desire on his part to place hims
of the government of Peru.

By a judicious distribution of twelve t
taken from the royal treasury and by variou
he succeeded in bringing together at Cuzco
hundred men. In order to induce others t
his enterprise, he sent letters to the cabildos
and to the principal captains and ecclesias
wrote to the wife of Marshal Alvarado,
persuade her husband to abandon the roya
to support the cause which Giron represente
of the people. He not only made great
marshal for his adherence, but also pointe
the dangers he would encounter in pursui
course. From some of the towns he receiv
replies; Arequipa and Guamanga sent r
congratulate him on his proposed campaig
informed him was eminently popular. H
cabildo of Cuzco to appoint him justicia-m
that he might be regarded as a part of th
government, and that his efforts to set asi
ordinances might seem to be the acts
authority.[1]

[1] Lorente, *Historia del Perú bajo la dinastía austri*
buru, iv. 115. Letter of Alonso de Alvarado to the
Indies, January 20, 1554, *Doc. inéd.*, iii. 553.

When the first news of the uprising in Cuzco reached the oidores in Lima, they regarded it as a false rumour, but when the truth of the report had been confirmed, they sent communications to the various towns, ordering them to prepare to defend the royal cause, and authorised Marshal Alvarado to take all necessary steps to form an armed force. At the same time, in order to conciliate the encomenderos, they suspended the decree abolishing the personal service of the Indians, and proclaimed amnesty for all persons who had participated in previous revolts. This last measure was designed to affect the soldiers of Gonzalo Pizarro, who were scattered throughout the kingdom, and who were supposed to be more willing to support the revolution than to join the troops of the audiencia.

The inhabitants of Guamanga expelled the corregidor, Juan Ruiz, rejected the authority of the audiencia, and pronounced for the cause of Giron. They moreover, signed a declaration, which affirmed that their acts were not opposed to the king, and were not in violation of their due submission, but were designed to compel the oidores to restore affairs to the state in which they had been left by Gasca.

At Lima, a force of thirteen hundred men was formed, composed in part of refugees from Cuzco, Guamanga, and Arequipa. But these defenders of the royal cause were not efficient soldiers. They lacked discipline; several groups aimed at independent action; and those persons selected to be captains were reluctant to serve in an office which, in their opinion, was far below the position demanded by their merits. Another source of weakness was the lack of a single general officer whom they were willing to entrust with the conduct of the campaign. Among those who aspired to this high office were several of the oidores and Archbishop Loayza. The archbishop was clearly unfit, but his insistent pretension was supported by his great prestige. Saravia's claim rested solely on the fact that he was the senior member of the audiencia.

Santillan, another member of the audie
known to possess any military talent what
had already been commissioned to pr
Guamanga. It was finally determined t
general direction of the forces jointly to t
and Santillan. The other oidores were t
cising the functions of the audiencia.[1]

In January 1554, Giron sent a force t
manga and protect those persons who had
selves adherents of his cause. He sent als
to Arequipa under Piedrahita. In the c
tween the two parties, Arequipa was no
opinion, but turned from side to side as
one party or another. Giron waited at Gua
expected reinforcements from Arequipa, a
arrived, they were received at night, in
might not be generally known how few the
Guamanga, the revolutionary forces proce
and, after a short period of rest at that p
towards the coast by way of Guarochiri.
some thirty men under Captain Lezana, adv
Pachacamac, fell into the hands of the ro
surrendered under the condition that thei
be spared, but this promise of the captors wa
by the oidores, and the sentence of death w
on all members of the company. But the r
protested against this judgment on the g
would provoke reprisals by the revolutioni
was then referred to Oidor Altamirano, wh
sentence so that Lezana and two others w
and the rest were sent into exile.

This unfavourable beginning, the loss o
best soldiers, made a profound impression
so far discouraged his followers that many of t
While at Ica, Giron was informed by one

[1] Lorente, *Historia del Perú bajo la dinastía austri*
buru, iv. 114; Letter of the oidores to the audiencia
20, 1554, *Doc. inéd.*, iii. 562; see p. 307.

soldiers who had deserted, that Meneces, who as maestre de campo was the effective leader of the royalists, proposed to attack him. With this hint, Giron advanced to meet the enemy, and by a vigorous charge at Villacuri, an oasis in the desert between Ica and Pisco, put them to flight, and compelled them to seek shelter among the sand dunes of the surrounding desert. After this decided victory, Giron withdrew to Nasca, where he found abundant resources, and his little army was reinforced by a battalion of about three hundred negroes, whom he had emancipated and brought nominally under a military organisation. In Nasca he was informed that his cause had many supporters in the northern part of Peru and even in New Granada. This information proved to be exaggerated, and no important assistance came to him from the easily suppressed insurrection in the north. The information that came from Upper Peru was not encouraging to the revolutionary chief. Alvarado had raised a considerable force, chiefly in La Plata, La Paz, and Cuzco, and was marching against Giron, who had taken up a position at Chuquinga. Alvarado had about eleven hundred men, while Giron had only about half of that number. Giron had the advantage, however, of occupying an almost impregnable position. The royalist leader fancied that his superior numbers would counterbalance the enemy's natural defences. In this he was clearly deceived, for, as a result of an engagement which he began against the advice of many of his officers, he suffered a complete rout, with the loss of one hundred and twenty men killed and two hundred and eighty wounded. Among the troops of Giron there were seventeen killed and forty wounded.

The ill success of the royalist forces was attributed to various causes, among others to the incapacity of the archbishop and Santillan. These officers finally withdrew, and Meneces was charged with the chief command; still a majority of the oidores accompanied the troops in the

campaign. After some weeks of rest, recr
plenishing their stores, the two forces fou
encamped near one another at Pucara, a
reason of its natural facilities for defence
known as the fort. The two armies rem
days in full view of one another. Finally,
effects of inaction and communication be
bodies of troops, Giron determined to atta
in their camp. The attack was made in th
while it was yet dark, and was unsucces
third of the attacking party were either kill
as many more were hopelessly scattered ;
a third of the whole body found their wa
quarters. Giron's force was, moreover, gr
by the desertion of several of the captains,
was followed by a large number of the co
Seeing the hopelessness of his undertaking
the middle of the night. Before his dep
leave of his wife, Doña Mencia, who ha
him during this campaign. She was tre
consideration due to her many excellent qu
ducted back to Cuzco by the oidores. Gi
to the coast, hoping to embark at Nasca,
ship available, he turned back towards
with the intention of going to Quito. H
in the valley of Jauja, and taken to
the historian says, "no one pitied him."
carried him into the city with a great sho
and a few days later, in the first half
1554, he was executed, and his head w
post in a public place with those of G
and Carbajal.

Among the Europeans, as indicated by
ness to desert from the ranks of the rebel
rebellion had lost much of its fire. The ne
Giron had given liberty and the status of s
the country committing great excesses, and

into subjection only by the severe punishment of the most culpable and by establishing regulations designed to subdue their aspirations.[1]

IV

The overthrow and death of Giron marked the end of the early civil wars of Peru. At their close there were in that country about eight thousand Spaniards. Of these, four hundred and eighty-nine held grants of land and Indians, and about one thousand others occupied official positions or lived on their estates; but a large part of the whole number may be described as adventurers; they desired to live without labour, and the peace and order of a settled society was scarcely compatible with their purposes. With this population, Peru did not offer an attractive field for the work of administration. The Spaniards appear to have taken this view of it; for two noblemen to whom the king, in 1555, offered the position of viceroy in succession refused it; but it was finally accepted, with reluctance, however, by Don Andres Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis of Cañete. He was appointed for six years with an annual salary of forty thousand ducats. Among the first measures proposed by Mendoza were those to expel from the country some of the more dangerous characters, and to prohibit persons from going to Peru, except under certain specified conditions.[2] Mendoza assumed the duties of his office in Lima, in June 1556. His policy outlined in Seville, as well as his orders issued after his arrival in Peru, indicate that he proposed to rule with a firm hand.

In order to be rid of the reckless adventurers, the new viceroy proposed to send them away on expeditions of discovery and conquest. This project excited opposition. The conquests already made had been attended with the

[1] Letters and other papers relating to the rebellion of Francisco Hernandez Giron are printed in *Doc. inéd.*, iii. 228–242.

[2] *Doc. inéd.*, xxiii. 548.

loss of large numbers of Europeans as well as of natives; and many persons, sharing the views of Las Casas, were opposed to other repetitions of the earlier tragedies. With respect to the adventurers, who might be induced to join the proposed expeditions, the viceroy preferred to see them destroyed in the wilderness rather than to see Peru ruined by their lawlessness and the violence of their revolts and quarrels.[1]

In order to allay the prevailing social commotion, the viceroy provided that persons should not leave their encomiendas without permission, and that they should not resort to the capital. He sent men of education in whom he had confidence to be the corregidores of the principal cities; and when he had thoroughly established his authority, he undertook to put the fear of the law into the hearts of offenders. He caused Tomas Vázquez, Piedrahita, and Pineda to be arrested and executed; but he rewarded those who had served well the legitimate government. It was impossible in the distribution of rewards not to leave some persons dissatisfied. Those who persisted in their complaints were embarked for Spain; they might petition the Crown to do them justice according to their merits.

The viceroy appointed his son, García Hurtado de Mendoza, to be the governor of Chile, and the expedition which the youthful Mendoza led to that country furnished to some of the royalist soldiers a new field for adventures and for possible glory. Others were admitted to the viceregal guard created by the viceroy. It consisted of one hundred lancers and fifty archers, and its chief function was to serve as a guard of honour for the viceroy. The difficulty of maintaining order was lessened by the decrease of the lawless element of the population. No embarrassment was caused, therefore, by the viceroy's orders that the artillery should be brought to the capital and kept under his control, and that the

[1] Lorente, *Historia del Perú bajo la dinastía austriaca*, 266.

corregidores should not continue the practice of keeping soldiers under their commands. The Indians were generally disposed to be peaceful, but in the highland region the tradition of the ancient organisation survived. It was impossible for them there not to wish to perpetuate the dignity of their ancient ruler. Sairi-Tupac was acknowledged as the heir of Manco, and the Spaniards were solicitous lest the Indians, moved by their unquenchable hatred, might form a plan for the extermination of their oppressors. The viceroy continued the efforts of his predecessors to induce the Inca to abandon the mountains and associate himself with the Spaniards. The first attempts to bring about this result appeared to have no influence on Sairi-Tupac. He finally succumbed to the vain flattery and seduction of a higher civilisation. He descended to Lima, borne, like the ancient sovereign, in a palanquin on the shoulders of Indians, but the splendour of the ancient royal progress could not be reproduced. The decorations, the ornaments, and the emblems of dignity had gone as a useless sacrifice to the greed of the invaders. At Lima, the authorities and the citizens made his reception a somewhat elaborate ceremony in his honour, and in consideration of his renunciation of sovereignty, he was granted the title of Adelantado and an income of twenty thousand ducats from the encomiendas of Sacshuana and Iucay. When he had been baptized and admitted into the Church as Don Diego, and his wife, Cusi Huarcay, appeared as Doña María, he had put off completely his hereditary character. The solemn dignity of his ancestors had been bartered for that which could give him no satisfaction. After he had arrived in Cuzco from Lima,[1] his presence was celebrated in festivities, which offered a momentary diversion. He visited the churches, but for him they had little or no meaning. The sense of his changed position, of what he had lost, plunged him into a state of profound melancholy.

[1] Markham, *The Incas of Peru*, 274.

Fate had made him the head of his house
of his people, and he fancied that his fail
his post had brought his house and his
He retired to Iucay, but he survived
years, and died "at an early age consume

The viceroy called the members of t
account for the conduct of affairs before h
They had been in contention among t
essayed to lead the forces in the field
forming their proper duties at the capital
unquestionably severe, but it was effecti
end to the lawlessness with which the co
afflicted for a decade.

During the administration of Hurtad
who was accompanied by his family, the
was set up, and Lima assumed the forms
of civilised society, and became the soci
Spanish dominions in South America.
display of the viceroy's court was not w
in maintaining order among the colo
been accustomed to look to the ceremo
Madrid as the source of authority that co
regarded.

The viceroy had undertaken the gove
with the assurance that he would be su
court of Madrid in all measures that we
necessary to establish public order. Bu
tions in this regard were not realised. S
he had banished found their way to Spain
the new king, Philip II, that the seve
Mendoza were unnecessary, and constitut
to the progress of Peru and to the develop
interests in the colony; and the infrequ
culty of communication between Spain an

[1] Lorente, *Historia del Perú bajo la dinastía aust*
buru, vii. 259–61; Markham, *The Incas of Peru*,
Markham's Introduction to *Pedro Sarmiento*, xi.

it impossible for the king to be kept fully informed concerning Peruvian affairs, or for charges made in Spain against royal officers in Peru to be readily refuted. In this case Philip appears to have taken action without waiting to have both sides presented with equal force and clearness. He caused the viceroy to be superseded by Diego de Acevedo y Zuñiga, Count of Nieva. But Mendoza died before the arrival of the new viceroy. His government had lasted nearly five years, and during this period he had succeeded in establishing peace among the inhabitants of Peru, and had laid the foundations of an orderly administration.[1]

The demand that Peru should return a large revenue to Spain stood constantly in the way of establishing a good government for that country. From the Spanish point of view, that was likely to be pronounced a good government which gave Spain the largest possible revenue, while from the Peruvian point of view it might appear to have few advantages. Mendoza sent to Spain a large amount of money, but there was always a demand for more; for Spain in her decline towards bankruptcy was practically insatiable, and the management of Spanish-American affairs from the side of Spain was largely determined by the hope of increasing the revenues of the home government.

At the close of the brief rule of the Count of Nieva, the title of Viceroy of Peru was temporarily suspended. His successor, Lope Garcia de Castro, who entered Lima in September 1564, was known as governor and captain-general. He was president of the audiencia of Lima. Other audiencias had been established at Quito, La Plata, Panama, and Santiago. During the presidency of García de Castro, who had been a member of the Council of the Indies, peace was maintained among the inhabitants of Peru, and steps were taken towards perfecting the administrative organisation by dividing the territory into

[1] Fernandez, *Historia del Perú*, parte ii. lib. ii. caps. i.–iii.

districts, in each of which it was provi
should be exercised by a corregidor;
were formed in the towns. In this perio
1564, the territory now known as Ecuad
tuted the presidency of Quito.[1]

[1] Cevallos, *Historia del Ecuador*, ii. 9.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE REIGN OF VICEROY FRANCISCO DE TOLEDO

I. The formation of Indian towns. II. The Yanaconas. III. The Mita. IV. The execution of Tupac Amaru. V. The use of mercury in the reduction of silver ore. VI. The University of San Marcos. VII. The establishment of the Inquisition.

I

In 1568, the office of viceroy, which had been in abeyance during the administration of Lope García de Castro as president of the audiencia, was re-established by the appointment of Francisco de Toledo. Toledo entered Lima on November 26, 1569. He had been a majordomo at the court of Philip II, and here the king learned to know him as a man of zeal, energy, and tact. He believed him disposed to inquire diligently into conditions and to reflect profoundly on the measures needed before concluding to adopt them. In spite of his advanced age, the viceroy devoted several years to making himself familiar with the state of affairs in the different parts of his realm, and, during his journeys of nearly five thousand miles and his visits in the provinces, the audiencia conducted the government at the capital. In making these investigations, and in dealing with the various governmental questions presented to him, he was assisted by Agustin de la Coruña, Bishop of Popayan; the Augustinian friars, Juan Vivero and Francisco del Corral; the Jesuit, Acosta; the lawyers, Polo Ondegardo and Juan Matienzo; and the inquisitor, Pedro Ordoñes Flores.

One of the early undertakings of the viceroy was to cause the Indians to live in towns. Left to themselves, they were disposed to live scattered in the less frequented

parts of the country, and to avoid all co
hated invaders. If conditions like these
to exist, a part of the Spanish policy w
failure. It would be impossible for ecclesi
them out in the caves and hidden places of
and teach them the doctrines of the Churc
persuade them to accept baptism, and ackn
selves to be Christians, it was necessary th
be gathered together, where they might b
considerable companies. This plan of
Indians to live in towns was generally o
encomenderos and all persons who wished
the Indians on their estates or in their mine
this feature of policy, there remained a con
throughout the period of Spanish dominati

The design of Toledo was to form vill
tions, of four hundred or five hundred p
provide an ecclesiastic for each, and at the
limit the demands which the priests migh
Indians. By this means it was proposed
extortion which all classes of Spaniards w
practise on the natives. These villages w
nished with churches, buildings for the tow
prisons, and hospitals. The proposed to
dently copies of Spanish towns, and to exp
to adapt themselves to participation in a l
ment that was entirely foreign to their
clearly to overestimate their capacity.
Indians might not be able to conduct in an
municipal governments of the European ty
with great eagerness to certain practices
They had an unwarranted confidence in th
courts to redress the wrongs they suffered

[1] Virey D. Francisco de Toledo (Manuscript J.
Nacional), *Doc. inéd.*, viii. 212–93; Memorial dad
Francisco De Toledo, sobre el estado en que dejó l
despues de haber sido su Virey y Capitan general tr
desde 1596, *Doc. inéd.*, vi. 516–53.

their oppressors. They turned to litigation as to a game in which they were bound to win. They often left their homes, and undertook long journeys in order to present their cases before the audiencias, only to find themselves robbed by clerks and lawyers, and plunged into hopeless poverty. To remove the incentive to these unprofitable undertakings, and protect the natives from the extortions of unscrupulous Spaniards, the viceroy endowed corregidores with judicial capacity, and also instituted friendly arbitrators, whose function was to effect settlements without the expense and delay of the ordinary judicial processes. The viceroy's plans might have produced beneficent results, if there had existed and continued to exist the agencies requisite for their proper execution. But they failed on account of the avarice of the corregidores and other persons who held positions of power in relation to the Indians; and the Indians continued to be the unfortunate prey of both ecclesiastics and civilians.

The practice of distributing the Indians for forced labour in the mines, in agriculture, and in other occupations, furnished an opportunity for the most severe oppression. Plans for abolishing this compulsory service had been under discussion for several decades, but the opposition of the encomenderos and others interested in the system had not been overcome. Finding that the audiencia, the corregidores of the city, the royal officials, and the cabildos had exercised the power to make repartimientos of Indians, the viceroy determined that this authority should be exercised only by the viceroy in the name of the king.

II

Under Toledo some of the Indians in the Charcas and later in other provinces entered into a new relation with the Spaniards. They were called Yanaconas. By this designation were known those Indians who for one cause or

another were not included in any repartimiento, or had ceased to be subject to a cacique. Their position under their Spanish master was not greatly unlike that of certain dependents in Europe during the Middle Ages. They were given the use of certain lands which they could plant and on which they could live, and it was expected that their master would furnish them instruction, and would provide assistance for them in case they were ill. They have been usually thought of as chiefly engaged in household service, in consideration of which the master gave them food and clothing, and paid their tribute. But Juan Matienzo, who, as oidor of the audiencia of Charcas, was familiar with the early history of the Yanaconas, refers to four kinds of Yanaconas, and he appears to have classified them according to the occupation in which they were engaged. These were those who worked on the land, those who served in the houses of the Spaniards, those who were employed in the mines of Potosi and Porco, and those who were engaged in the forests gathering coca leaves. Subject to little or no police supervision, the Yanaconas sometimes deserted their masters, and became vagabonds. For the Spaniards, who wished all the Indians to be subject to some authority, this was a grievance which they sought to set aside by regulations and a stricter supervision.[1]

[1] Referring to the condition of the Yanaconas, Juan Matienzo wrote: "Biven como Christianos entre Christianos, son mejor tratados y curados que de sus caciques. Comen y beven mejor que en sus tierras, tiene mas honra que los mismos caciques del lo que ellos estan contentos, viene de ellos utilidad á la republica, de manera que sin ellos no se podria conservar, porque españoles no sirven ni conviene que sirvan, negros ay pocos y aun que seria mejor no hubiesse tantos, y asi sin el servicio de estos para lo necessario no se podria conservar la tierra" (*Gobierno del Perú*, 18). Juan Matienzo arrived in America about 1560 as oidor of the audiencia of Charcas, and wrote the *Gobierno del Perú* before 1573. The work remained in manuscript until 1910, when it was published in Buenos Aires. Solórzano, in discussing the character and status of the Yanaconas, libro. ii. cap. iv., makes reference to the work of Matienzo. René-Moreno defines the Yanaconas as "indios vinculados con su prole á la labranza de una hacienda, sin

III

To the period of Toledo's reign belongs also the establishment of the system of the mita, or forced labour, in Peru. Matienzo describes the labourers under this system as "those Indians of the repartimientos who serve in their turns." He points out that there are several kinds of them: those who work at the inns, or tambos; those who serve the Spaniards in their houses; those who serve in the houses of their encomenderos; and those who take care of the cattle. Another order of mitayos were those who were assigned to corregidores, priests, and other Spaniards to work in their houses, and who were changed every week, some serving one week and others another week.[1]

The labour of the mitayos who served at the tambos consisted in carrying food and wood for travellers, and in carrying goods from one tambo to another. These tambos were huts or very rude houses, where travellers might find shelter, but they were generally without furniture, and were not provided with food for either man or beast. Travellers might, however, find in them protection from the storms that sometimes sweep over the mountains. It was proposed that the tambos on the principal lines of travel should be four or five leagues apart, and that each should be furnished with a schedule of the services which one might expect from the Indians. These facilities for promoting communication did not vary greatly from the system that had prevailed under the Incas before the conquest; and they continued many decades later.[2]

libertad de salir ni de trabajar por su cuenta, y que eran transferidos a terceros poseedores junto con la propriedad, de la misma manera que si fuesen semovientes del terreno" (*Bolivia y Perú*, 255).

[1] Matienzo, Juan, *Gobierno del Perú*, 25–8; Solrózano, *Política Indiana*, lib. ii. cap. v.–vii.

[2] A recent traveller in this region, which was formerly known as Upper Peru, describes the tambo, as it exists to-day, as "a little

This service, known as the mita, was der seventh part of the adult male population there were established periods of work and But these regulations were not strictly o interest of the employer presented an effect to their execution. In spite of these regu laws intended to regulate the payment of distance the Indians might be taken from the mita remained an instrument of extrem

In gathering and marketing the coca leav were obliged to pass from the cold regions tains to the hot valleys, and these changes produced disastrous results with reference and lives of the Indians. This fact ga opinion in favour of prohibiting the use o exterminating the plant. Philip II was nc support a measure so extreme as this; bu in 1573, that the cultivation of the coca tinued, provided only that free and volun were employed. The use of the forced labo was forbidden under severe penalties. The tions were later applied to the labourers to in vineyards and olive plantations. Tole imposed the alcabala at the rate of five coca.

collection of mud huts," where " the only thing to ea bring with you." " They are modelled on the Inca t to exist on all the more frequented trails in the hi and Bolivia; a range of low, windowless buildings, e adobe, sometimes completely surrounding a courtyar only on three sides, containing a few rooms, of which with a rough and very shaky table and three or four intended for bunks; mud floors that have accumulat of every description ever since the building was cons thatched roofs from which bits of straw and pieces of dislodge themselves to fall on the table where we sp repast, or to alight on our faces just as we were trying Bingham, *Across South America* (Boston, 1911), 99, description of the *tambos* and the *chasques* is given b *del Nuevo Mundo* (Seville, 1892), lib. xii. cap. xxxii.

IV

The viceroy fancied that, in spite of the death of Sairi-Tupac, the Indians of the mountains still threatened the peace of Peru and the stability of Spanish rule. The thought of Sairi-Tupac, that his defection had ruined his house, was not justified by subsequent events. His brother, Tupac Amaru, was accepted as the leader of his people, and continued the rule of the Incas at Vilcabamba. Certain acts of reprisal by the Indians, particularly the deaths of Ortiz and Pando, led the viceroy to determine to take Tupac Amaru by force, when negotiations for this purpose had failed. Many persons supported the enterprise as a similar undertaking to Pizarro's capture of the Inca; they were desirous to have a share of the spoils which they hoped might be obtained. Toledo expected by this means to win the favour of the king. A Spanish force of one hundred and fifty men under Martin Hernando de Arbieto entered Vilcabamba. The Inca fled, but was overtaken and carried to Cuzco, where he was imprisoned. Toledo ordered him to be tried, and among the charges brought against him were rebellion and treason to the King of Spain. Tupac Amaru was found to be innocent of these charges, but by the introduction of false testimony, an ostensible ground was provided for a sentence, which was pronounced in accordance with the wishes of the viceroy. This sentence was that the Inca should be beheaded. For the execution, a platform was constructed in the plaza of Cuzco. Vigorous protests were presented against the carrying out of the sentence. Ondegardo denounced it as immoral and unjust. The Inca appealed to the Crown, and the bishop offered to conduct him to Spain. The ayuntamiento, the clergy, and the most notable persons of the kingdom intervened to prevent the commission of a judicial crime. The

viceroy, after he had learned of the o
proposed action, remained locked in his
to avoid the importunities of those who
save his reputation, but also spare the
On the occasion of the execution, the
plaza were crowded with Indians, " whos
might be changed into uncontrollable
the Spaniards destroyed their victim, th
to have him converted and baptized;
event he was no longer Inca Tupac Am
title and name had been superseded b
Philip. He was conducted to the scaffol
mule, with his hands tied and a rope
The crier who accompanied him, procla
man was executed as a tyrant and a trai
It is recorded that, informed by the priest
him of the meaning of this announcemen
crier to him and said: " Do not say this
crying out, since you know that it is m
I have not committed treason, nor have I
so, as all the world knows. Say that th
cause the viceroy wishes it, and not that
any crime; that I have done nothing a
against the King of Castile. I call upo
who knows that what I say is true." [1]

When the vast throng of Indians saw th
which had been pronounced on their chie
be carried out, they raised a cry of horro
to forebode the outbreak of a storm of rag
point, on the suggestion of the priest,
undertook, by a simple gesture of the han
rising trouble; the ominous roar of the cr
diately succeeded by a profound silence
moment the Inca fell under the executione

To make impossible any future upri

[1] Lorente, *Historia del Perú bajo la dinastía aust*
ham, *The Incas of Peru*, 290–8.

member of the Inca family, the viceroy caused the relatives of the executed chief, to the number of thirty-eight, to be taken to Lima. Within three or four years they all disappeared; a few were sent into exile, but death carried off the majority of them. The early death of Sairi-Tupac and of the relatives of the Inca who fell into the hands of the Spaniards, created a suspicion among the Indians that this result was not wholly due to natural causes.

During the later years of this period, the viceroy sought zealously to improve the internal affairs of the kingdom. He organised, in the audiencia, a department for the trial of criminal cases; determined more precisely the duties of the corregidores; developed the local governments; and impressed on the alcaldes and cabildos the desirability of securing justice to all persons. He emphasized the feudal obligations of vassals by requiring the residents of certain provinces to join the expeditions against the Chiriguanos and other tribes at their own expense, providing that those who were prevented from going should pay for the support of one or more soldiers, according to their wealth.

When internal peace and order seemed to be established, the viceroy prepared to resist attacks from without. The immediate incentive to this effort was the appearance of Francis Drake. Drake left Plymouth, November 15, 1577, passed through the Straits of Magellan, and arrived unannounced off the coast of Peru. He captured several vessels with rich booty, among others, one that was ready to sail from Callao with a large amount of silver. The viceroy, moved by this event, organised a small fleet, and sent it to the Straits of Magellan to intercept Drake on his return, but Drake was not to be encountered there; he had sailed westward, and reached England by completing a voyage around the world.

V

An important event of this reign w
of the use of mercury in the reduction c
some years the quicksilver mines of I
been exploited, but there was no consid
the product in Peru. In Mexico, howe
quicksilver in connection with mining p
known, and when the supply from A
had been insufficient, the Mexican r
mitted to supply the deficiency by i
Peru. In 1573, when the viceroy was
Fernandez Velasco, who had acquired
the subject in Mexico, appeared and off
mercury might be employed in extractin
taking advantage of this offer, caused a
ore to be brought from Potosi, and wit
house the successful experiment. Vela
Potosi, and explained the system to t
city. The immediate result of the in
new process was the rapid development
mines of Huancavelica, and a correspo
the production of silver from the min
1573 also, the mines of Huancavelica
perty of the Crown. To the town whic
ence at these mines, Toledo gave the o
of Villarica de Oropesa. It had been
cavelica, and it continued to be known

VI

No events associated with the gove
were destined to have more important
Peru than the establishment of the Inc

[1] Memorial y relacion de las minas de azogue
viii. 422–49; Ordenanzas del Virrey D. Francisc
oficiales de Guamanga y caja de Guancavélica, *Ib*

and the development of the university. As already indicated, the University of Lima was founded in 1553, in the monastery of the Dominicans. Some years later, at the request of the order, Pius V, by a bull of July 25, 1571, confirmed the act of establishment. In the course of time, the presence of the university in the monastery became a source of vexation on account of the disturbance caused by the attendance of persons from without. In 1574 the university received the name of San Marcos; and in 1577, after occupying temporary quarters elsewhere, it was moved to its present site. In the same year, Philip II, through the viceroy, arranged its financial affairs, and framed laws and regulations for its government. Three years later, May 25, 1580, Toledo conferred upon the rector jurisdiction over the doctors, masters, students, and officers of the university for their correction and better discipline, and this action was later approved by the king. This jurisdiction extended even to criminal matters within the university, and to all cases, offences, and crimes relating to the affairs of the university. By the end of the century, the funds of the university designed to furnish the salaries of the professorships were practically exhausted, and King Philip III undertook to renew them from the royal treasury. He was moved to this action by the request of the viceroy, Juan de Mendoza y Luna, the Marquis of Montesclaros, who thus contributed, in 1614, to the re-establishment of the university, which had fallen into great poverty.[1]

[1] Important points in the early history of the university are contained in two inscriptions taken from the interior of one of the buildings:

"1553. Carlos V, emperador-rey de las Españas y de las Indias á peticion de la ciudad de Lima mandó fundar esta Universidad de estudios en el convento de la órden de predicadores de la misma ciudad. Fué trasladada á este sitio por su rector y doctores, y le fueron señalados estipéndios reales por mandado del Rey Felipe II, por D. Francisco de Toledo su Virey el cuál hizó sus leyes y estatutos año de 1577."

"1613. Disminuidos y exhaustos los estipéndios de las cátedras, ocurrió el Rey Felipe III á mejorarlos y asegurarlos con sus reales tesoros á instancias del próbido Virey D. Juan de Mendoza y Luna

VII

While the purpose of the university was to increase the intellectual cultivation in Peru, and to extend the range of thought, the Inquisition tended to suppress independent thought and to destroy the very basis of liberal cultivation. The long conflict with the Moors stimulated in the Spaniards a form of faith which had its logical expression in the Inquisition. Intolerance, the legitimate consequence of Spanish faith, was Spanish America's unfortunate inheritance from the mother country. It manifested itself in the colonies before the organisation of the Tribunal which was designed to call heretics to account and to uphold the purity of Christian belief as interpreted by the Church and the Crown of Spain. When it was found to be impracticable to try in Spain persons who had offended against the Church in the New World, the Holy Office consented to delegate its powers to certain persons who were not members of the regularly constituted tribunal. After the Church had been systematically organised in the colonies, the bishops ordinarily became the delegates. But earlier the inquisitorial powers had been vested in different persons. Alfonso Manso, Bishop of Porto Rico, and the Dominican friar, Pedro de Cordova, appear to have been the first inquisitors in the Indies.

In 1524 the Franciscan friar, Martin de Valencia, went to New Spain, and was appointed to be the commissary of the Inquisition in that colony. A general plan for having the functions of the Inquisition performed in America was established by the Archbishop of Toledo acting as inquisitor-general, when he provided that the

marqués de Montesclaros que por el bien publico cuido de restablecer esta Universidad casi destituida. Año de 1614." *See* Mendiburu, viii. 39.

bishops should be inquisitors.[1] He required them "to proceed in questions of faith that might present themselves in their districts not only by the ordinary authority which belonged to their office and dignity as pastors of their flocks, but also by that delegated by apostolic inquisitors.[2]

Under this provision Juan de Zumárraga, the first Bishop of Mexico, was given power to hold inquisitorial trials. The exercise of this power had an unfortunate beginning in the burning of an Indian alive.[3]

The visitador, Francisco Tello de Sandoval, who went to Mexico a little later to introduce the New Laws, had, in addition to his political functions, also the power of an inquisitor. But the period of social disturbance caused by the project to carry out the New Laws was not favourable for psychological inquiries into the beliefs or doubts of the inhabitants concerning religious questions. Nearly three decades after the publication of the New Laws, Philip II issued the decree, January 25, 1569, which established the Tribunal of the Inquisition in Mexico as well as in other parts of Spanish America. In the meantime, during a period of thirty years, the bishops of America exercised the functions of inquisitors in addition to those which regularly belonged to their episcopal offices. That they exercised the full authority of the Inquisition is indicated by the fact that the first Archbishop of Lima, Geronimo de Loayza, held an *auto-de-fé* in that city in 1548, at which Jan Miller, a Fleming, was burnt for Protestantism. There were also cases under episcopal authority in 1560, 1564, and 1565.[4]

[1] Herrera, *Dec.* II, lib. ii. 58 (ed. Madrid, 1601).

[2] Solórzano, *Política Indiana* (Amberes, 1703), 361*a*.

[3] Riva Palacio, *México á través de los siglos*, ii. 110.

[4] Medina, *Inquisición de Lima*, i. 25; *Inquisición en Chile*, i. 18. Calancha, *Crónica*, 618, affirms that the archbishop celebrated three autos, thus attributing to Loayza those celebrated in Cuzco and La Plata. Lorente, *Historia del Perú bajo la dinastía austriaca*, 330, refers to three celebrated by the archbishop. See also Palma, *Anales de la Inquisición de Lima*.

The inquisitorial authority of the bis
seded by that of the Tribunal of the Inq
In that year, Servan de Cerezuela was app
for the provinces of Peru, and Dr. André
was made his colleague. Two other in
were Pedro de Alcedo, the attorney,
Arrieta, the secretary. On the 19th of M
sailed from San Lucar in the ship *Madal*
the island of Santo Domingo on the 28th o
arrived at Cartagena on the 8th of Ma
tained there several days for lack of v
reached Nombre de Dios on the 1st of Jur
died at Panama.

Before they left the Isthmus, the i
that the money they had taken with t
and no one was willing to loan money t
interest. Finally Barros, a judge at Pana
to them two thousand dollars from the
been deposited in his charge by private p
the three surviving members were able t
journey.[1]

The object of the Inquisition, establi
the decree of January 25, 1569, as set fort
was to secure the extension of " the holy
to preserve it free from errors and false
doctrines, and to maintain devotion a
among the discoverers, the settlers, and th
the vassals of the king." The reason
foundation was discovered in the belief th
who were not in obedience to the Holy
Church, and who remained obstinate in
heresy, were always able to pervert and
away from the holy Catholic faith, by co
them their false opinions and heresies
sought was to remove or exclude such p
communication with the faithful. To th

[1] Medina, *Historia de la Inquisición de L*

and corporations were required to receive the members of the Inquisition with becoming respect and reverence, keeping in view the sacred ministry which they were sent to execute.[1]

The Tribunal thus founded, and having its seat in Lima, embraced within its jurisdiction in the beginning all of Spain's possessions in South America.

By a decree that became a part of the laws of the Indies, the king placed the inquisitors, their agents, and their property immediately under his protection. Anyone causing them injury would be subject to the same penalties as those who dared to disturb the security of the king, and no civil official, from the lowest judge in Spanish America up to the members of the Council of the Indies, might resist them or place obstacles in the way of their performance of their prescribed duties. The institution and all of its members were, moreover, free from all forms of taxes or burdensome contributions.[2]

They enjoyed not only this exemption, but in addition the butchers of the city where the inquisitors or their agents lived were required to furnish them without charge whatever meat they needed for consumption in their houses. Funds for the payment of their salaries were to be obtained by suppressing a canonicate in each of the cathedrals of the Indies, and applying to this object the revenues thus liberated. With these privileges in view, many persons were naturally desirous of securing places and titles as members or attachés of the Inquisition; and as a result of the influence they were able to exert there appeared very early more occupants of inferior positions than had been provided for in the beginning. In the capital, in 1672, there were forty familiars instead of

[1] The royal decree establishing the Inquisition in America. This document is printed in Medina's *Inquisición en Chile*, i. 146–8. See also *Leyes de Indias*, lib. i. tit. xix. ley i; Medina, *La Inquisición en el Rio de la Plata*, 48.

[2] *Leyes de Indias*, lib. i. tit. xix. ley 2.

the twelve for whom provision had been originally made.[1]

An additional provision was that there should be four familiars in each capital of a bishopric, and one in each of the other towns, yet in Santiago eight were appointed.

The inquisitors set sail from Panama for Peru, August 15, 1569, and landed at Paita thirty-one days later. On the 29th of January 1570, Cerezuela made his formal entry into Lima, somewhat more than eight months after he left Spain, and two months after his arrival at that city, which was on the 28th of November 1569. After the formal ceremonies of reception, the first business of the inquisitors was to obtain quarters for the Tribunal and the prison. These they requested from the civil authorities, and it was necessary that they should be apart from the public offices on account of the absolute secrecy that was to cover all of their transactions. "No one might utter an opinion concerning their decisions, and, except the *autos-de-fé* to which the public was invited, and at which were seen to appear from time to time the unfortunates condemned either to abjuration or death, nothing was known by persons living at the time."[2]

Soon after their arrival, the inquisitors published an edict, setting forth their authority and the assistance they expected from all the faithful in bringing to light and to trial all persons guilty of heresy or of any form of opposition to the Church. The instructions which they had received required them to leave the Indians as an exception, and not to subject them to trials for their opinions or their faith. Exercising practically unlimited power and enjoying the special protection of the king, the in-

[1] Medina, *Historia de la Inquisición de Lima*, i., ii.; *Leyes de Indias*, lib. i. tit. xix. ley 30.

[2] Medina, *Inquisición en las Provincias de Plata*, viii.; Odriozola, *Documentos lit. del Perú*, iv. 364; Medina, *Inquisición en Chile*, i. 194; Mendiburu, ii. 355.

quisitors displayed an intolerable arrogance and insolence. They broke over the limits that had been prescribed for their jurisdiction, and invaded every department of life. Within a few years after the founding of the institution, the audiencia of Lima saw itself obliged to appeal to the monarch and denounce to him the abuses of the Inquisition; and even the Archbishop of Lima participated in the long line of complaints and denunciations that continued through the following decades. By these the king was finally moved to attempt to correct these abuses, and a decree designed to limit the power of the inquisitors was issued in 1610, and became known as the *Concordia*.[1]

With the absolutism of the Inquisition grounded on the papal bull of 1569, and supported by the oaths taken by officials, it was difficult to make effective the proposed limitations.[2] The viceroy, in taking his oath of office, swore "to defend with all his power the Catholic faith as held by the Holy Mother Apostolic Church of Rome; to preserve and extend this faith; to prosecute and cause to be prosecuted heretics and apostates opposed to it; to give favour and necessary support to the Holy Office of the Inquisition and its officials, in order that the heretical disturbers of our Christian religion may be taken and punished in accordance with the right and sacred canons, without the omission or exception of any person, whatever may be his rank." The oaths taken by the audiencia and the people were not less positive.[3] Moreover, the knowledge that the most absurd declarations would be received and made the basis of action by the Tribunal, led to great licence in denunciation, and destroyed the confidence of man in his fellow-man. In many instances the husband denounced his wife, and the

[1] Medina, *Inquisición en Chile*, i. 152–63; *La Inquisición en el Rio de la Plata*, 50–6.

[2] This document is referred to in Medina's *Inquisición en Chile*, i. 165–71.

[3] Medina, *Inquisición en Chile*, i. 171–4.

wife her husband; brother denounced brother; the friar denounced his companions; and thus all the bonds of social faith were broken. With men of all ranks demanding action, it was difficult, if not impossible, for the Tribunal to limit the field of its operations, even if it had been moved with a desire to do so.

The procedure of the Tribunal of the Inquisition differed in certain essential particulars from that of an enlightened civil court. A case was initiated by an accusation either written or oral, and was then conducted without considering a possible defence. It was assumed to be the duty of every person to bring charges to the Tribunal, whenever there should come to his knowledge any utterance or action on which an accusation could be grounded. Whether any given item of evidence should be received or rejected depended upon its bearing in the case. The testimony of persons excommunicated, accomplices of the prisoner, infidels, Jews, criminals of all sorts, even heretics, was accepted, provided it was against the accused, but was rejected if it was in his favour. Various devices were adopted to prevent the prisoner from finding out who were testifying against him; or, if he knew the persons, to prevent him from knowing what evidence each or any of them offered. When torture was decreed in order to extort a confession, it was provided that it should be inflicted in the presence of the ordinary and at least one of the judges. At first the judge might excuse himself on account of illness; but after torture had been applied without the presence of any of the judges, and at least one person had died in the process, it was no longer permitted that all the judges might be absent.

When a prisoner had been notified of his sentence, he was visited by a priest, whose function was not to give him any hope of escaping the penalty of death, but to encourage him to make his peace with God, that it might be well with him in the future. If he remained

obdurate, there seemed to be nothing better to do with him than to burn him alive.

In order to make the Inquisition effective in the provinces far from Lima, it was necessary that the central tribunal should have agents in these provinces. This need gave origin to a plan providing for commissaries in the principal cities within the jurisdiction of the tribunal at Lima. But a difficulty arose here in the want of men in the distant provinces fitted to assume the grave responsibilities of guardians of the faith. The friar, Juan de Vega, was sent from Lima to Chile to investigate the condition of the Church, and his report indicated a somewhat hopeless state of affairs, and pointed out the difficulty of finding persons on whom the Tribunal could safely rely. Cerezuela, however, in April 1572, appointed Melchor Calderon commissary in the bishopric of Santiago, and Dean Cisneros in the bishopric of Imperial. Calderon at the time of his appointment was the treasurer of the cathedral of Santiago. Cisneros had received the degrees of bachelor and licentiate at the University of Salamanca, and was a lawyer in Medina before he left Spain for Chile in 1554. In order that the arms of the Inquisition might be more widely extended, the commissaries proposed *vicarios* for the cities of Serena, Chillan, Concepcion, Angol, Villarica, Osorno, Valdivia, and Castro.

Instructions issued by the Tribunal indicate the general course of conduct which the commissary was expected to follow. He was not to become involved in the affairs of the secular or ecclesiastical judges, but only to execute the orders and commissions of the inquisitors, and to receive information in matters of faith, and transmit it to the inquisitors. These instructions deal, moreover, with the manner of taking evidence, and of receiving the confessions of criminals. But many things were omitted because special orders addressed to the commissaries were to be accompanied by specific direc-

tions as to the manner of proceedi
orders.[1]

The great distance of the provinces of
from Lima, and the large number of ca
of Portuguese Jews, that demanded the
Inquisition, suggested, in the first half of
century, the advisability of establishin
one of the cities of these provinces. T
discussed in communications between the
Council of the Indies, on the one hand,
and other officers of the American ad
the other hand; but it was temporarily
somewhat later, in 1662, taken up aga
an interruption of nearly a century, i
in 1754, but, fortunately for the inhabit
Aires, where it was proposed to establi
the plan was disapproved by the king.[2]

[1] The text of the instructions signed by Euse
secretary of the Tribunal, are printed in Medina, *I*
i. 232–4. Later, more elaborate instructions to
published in Lima: *La Instrucción y Orden que*
guardar los comisarios y notarios del Santo Oficio d
Perú, cerca de procesar en las causas de fé y crimin
que fueren reos y contra el honor del Santo Oficio (Lima

[2] Medina, *La Inquisición en el Rio de la Plata*, 1

CHAPTER XIX

THE INQUISITION IN CARTAGENA

I. The establishment of the Tribunal. II. Early cases tried. III. Internal controversy and witchcraft.

I

Soon after the establishment of the Inquisition in Lima, it became evident that, on account of the great extent of the viceroyalty, it would be difficult to bring all the accused and the necessary witnesses to the capital for trial. On the 28th of April 1600, the inquisitor Antonio Ordoñez wrote to the king suggesting the establishment of tribunals in other cities. In his opinion, the tribunal of the Inquisition of Lima, should have as its district the archbishopric of Lima, the bishoprics of Cuzco, Quito, and Panama, and the kingdom of Chile; and two other tribunals should be created: one in the city of La Plata, which should have jurisdiction throughout the bishoprics of Charcas, Tucuman, and Rio de la Plata, and the territory of Santa Cruz de la Sierra; and another in Bogotá, which should have as its districts the bishoprics of Popayan, Cartagena, Santa Marta, and Venezuela.

Archbishop Lobo Guerrero wrote to the Council of the Indies, and advocated a plan similar to that suggested by Ordoñez; and, after more or less mature deliberation, the council decided to establish a tribunal of the Inquisition at Santo Domingo and another at Cartagena. These were prominent ports, where foreigners seeking to enter Spain's American possessions might be expected to land, and where it was, therefore, desirable to have means for detecting and punishing heresy. It was, however, finally

determined to make Cartagena the seat of an inquisitorial tribunal, and to subject to its jurisdiction the archbishoprics of Santo Domingo and Bogotá and the bishoprics of Cartagena, Panama, Santa Marta, Porto Rico, Popayan, Venezuela, and Santiago de Cuba. The decree establishing the Inquisition at Cartagena was dated February 25, 1610.

The inquisitors appointed to organise the Inquisition at Cartagena were Juan de Mañozca and Mateo de Salcedo They reached Seville in the beginning of June 1610, and embarked at Cadiz on the 29th of the same month. The voyage to the island of Guadelupe lasted thirty-four days, and on the 9th of August they arrived at Santo Domingo. The few days during which they remained at Santo Domingo were filled with visits of ceremony, and with various exercises in honour of the inquisitors. While here they appointed Juan Nuñez Tenorio to be the commissary for this part of their district, and on the 4th of September they entered upon the journey to Cartagena. On this voyage they encountered severe storms, and after six days arrived at their destination. Here the ceremonies of Santo Domingo were repeated. They sent the decree establishing the tribunal to the governor, and were then visited by a representative of the governor, by the majority of the municipal council, by the royal officials, and by officials of the cathedral, representing the bishop. Towards evening of the day of their arrival, the governor sent two large boats that were furnished with rugs and velvet cushions, with a delegation of distinguished persons to accompany the inquisitors to the shore. On landing they were saluted by the fort and by the vessels in the harbour, and were received by Governor Fernandez de Velasco, General Francisco Vanegas, the secular and ecclesiastical cabildos, and all the persons of distinction in the city, who accompanied them to the Franciscan monastery, which had been selected as the most commodious place for their residence. The soldiers, who were

stationed along the streets through which the inquisitors passed, saluted them by dipping their flags and discharging their firearms. From the monastery, the inquisitors sent to the bishop and the governor the royal order concerning their reception, and after this had been deliberately considered, the prelate and the other authorities went mounted to the monastery, on Sunday, the 26th of September, and escorted the inquisitors to the cathedral; and on entering the edifice, they were received by the singing of the *Te Deum* and by the celebration of a solemn mass. At a certain point in this ceremony, the notary ascended the pulpit and read the powers, provisions, and decrees issued by the king and the inquisitor-general; and at the conclusion of the mass the inquisitors were escorted back to the monastery in the same manner and order that had been observed in proceeding to the cathedral.[1]

Since there was no edifice in Cartagena that might properly furnish permanent quarters for the Inquisition, the construction of a suitable building was undertaken, and three houses were rented for temporary use. Then, on the last day of November, the inquisitors went again to the cathedral to read the edict concerning the faith, which was at once an exhortation and a fundamental rule for the proceedings of the Inquisition. It specified, as persons to be reported and corrected, Jews, Mohammedans, Lutherans, and the Illuminati; and enumerated the various heresies and vices for which persons might be called to account.[2]

II

Immediately after the publication of this decree, the inhabitants of Cartagena manifested a certain reluctance to approach the tribunal; but a little later the universal

[1] Medina, *Historia del Tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición de Cartagena de las Indias* (Santiago de Chile, 1899), 46–50.

[2] This document is printed in Medina, *La Inquisición en Cartagena*, 50–69.

willingness to find the conduct of one's neighbour not quite correct caused a flood of complaints and charges to be poured into the office of the Inquisition. One of the abominable features of the tribunal of the Inquisition is discovered in the fact that it presented to all persons a temptation and an opportunity to exercise with impunity the very general propensity of human beings to accuse their fellows of evil. It was impossible in the beginning for the Inquisition to act on all the charges that were brought to it, and arrest the persons accused, on account of the lack of an adequate prison. Another hindrance consisted in the difficulty of finding persons fitted by their education to perform the various functions required of assistants to the inquisitors; for the town of Cartagena had at the period in question, the beginning of the seventeenth century, not more than five hundred inhabitants, and the number of persons who had a legal or a theological training was extremely limited. Since this was true of Cartagena, it is easy to understand the difficulty that was experienced in finding proper agents or commissaries in the less populous parts of the district.

Clothed with their extraordinary authority, the inquisitors very early manifested a desire to have their precedence recognised by the civil and ecclesiastical officers; and since there was no universal acceptance of this view, a new element of discord was introduced into the community. The prestige of the institution depended to a certain extent, on its ability to deal, without delay, with the cases that were presented to it; and in order that it might be equipped for this purpose as early as possible, it proceeded to construct a prison in one of the houses that had been procured for its temporary use. But during the first three or four years the cases tried were neither very numerous nor very important. There were in all not more than thirty. Two of these were Augustinians, two Franciscans, who were tried for propositions thought to be heretical, and six were women,

who were accused of sorcery. Still, on the 2nd of February 1614, an *auto-de-fé* was celebrated "with much applause and satisfaction of the whole city and of many persons who assembled that day from the region about the city to see a thing so new in these parts."[1]

The power of the Inquisition to confiscate the property of its victims, and turn it to the uses of the tribunal, placed in the hands of the inquisitors a source of income quite independent of the royal treasury. They were thus subject to the temptation to condemn the accused who were wealthy. In the first *auto-de-fé*, Luis Andrea, a mestizo, who was charged of having a compact with the devil, suffered confiscation of his property, besides various other penalties. Andrés de Cuevas was condemned to one hundred lashes, perpetual banishment, and to contribute three thousand pesos towards the expenses of the Inquisition. The early punishments of the Inquisition in Cartagena were imposed for utterances thought to be heretical, for witchcraft, or for other real or fancied offences that might very well have gone unpunished. A widow named Maria de Olaneaga was condemned for calling upon the devil in an affair of love, with the design of marrying a second time; Isabel de Carvajal, for a similar invocation for the purpose of finding out whether a certain man who was absent from Cartagena would return. Juan de Cárdenas was sixty years of age, and when asked to take part in a play celebrating San Ignacio, he said, "Valga el diablo al Padre Ignacio," and for this remark he was tried and condemned by the Inquisition. For the majority of the cases examined by the inquisitors the punishments imposed were more severe than the offences justly merited.

Cartagena was disturbed not only by the prosecutions

[1] Letter by Salcedo to the Council of the Indies, February 18, 1614, quoted by Medina, *La Inquisición en Cartagena*, 82. The description of this first *auto-de-fé* of Cartagena, which was sent to the Council of the Indies by the inquisitors, is printed in Medina, *La Inquisición en Cartagena*, 83–92.

of the Inquisition, but also by conflicts among the various ecclesiastical factions, which ranged themselves into two hostile groups. The Franciscans, the Augustinians, the Mercedarios, and the Jesuits formed one party, and the Dominicans supported by the bishop constituted the other party. If the hostility did not result in a physical conflict, it was nevertheless a serious war of words. From the pulpits, the opponents denounced and insulted one another in a most violent and unseemly manner. The inquisitors attempted to intervene to abate the scandalous conduct of the opposing parties, and to induce them, if not to abandon their hostility, at least to make their pulpit harangues more moderate. But the flame of theological hatred could not be easily extinguished.

In Cartagena there were only two inquisitors, in spite of the great extent of the district covered by their jurisdiction. The other officers were an attorney, a secretary, a constable, a treasurer, two advisers, and a warden, who performed also the duties of a messenger and a porter. The lack of a sufficient number of subordinates, or assistants, in the different parts of the district, led the bishops to complain that in their bishoprics the matters of faith were neglected. The Bishop of Panama referred to the friar Francisco de la Cruz, "who was burned in Lima by the Holy Inquisition," and called attention to the case of the friar's son, the freedom of whose life scandalised all the world. In the extensive bishopric of Cuba, the bishop assumed that the licentiousness which prevailed was due to the absence of supervision by the Inquisition; and the lack of subordinate officials here as well as in other parts was due to the difficulty, or impossibility, of finding satisfactory persons to perform the required functions; for those appointed to be commissaries "made a bad use of their commissions," and it was believed that an investigation "would reveal many things unworthy of their profession and office." [1]

[1] See Medina, *La Inquisición en Cartagena*, 117, 118.

The affairs of the Inquisition were not more satisfactory in Cartagena than in the remote parts of the district. The inquisitors were unequally yoked together. Salcedo was a man of much experience, who had passed into the period of inaction and drivelling reminiscence. He was continually recounting the work of the Inquisition in Aragon, where he had been the attorney, and also the various events of his experience in that kingdom. Mañozca, on the other hand, was a young man of vigorous mind, great ambition, and unlimited daring. His aggressiveness, his willingness to work, and his unbounded self-confidence made him the real head and effective force of the Inquisition. Whatever ill-will the Inquisition provoked in the community was directed to him. He was the head and front of the offending. He set out to humiliate the bishop, and to dominate the civil government; and this last undertaking was facilitated by the mild and generous disposition of the governor, Fernandez de Velasco. But, in spite of his patience, the governor at last turned and appealed to the king. He made known his attempts to maintain friendly relations with the inquisitors, and the ineffectiveness of his example and long-suffering to preserve the peace desired. The tribunal had gone so far towards making itself feared and the master of all affairs, that the country was terrorised by the aggressive action not only of the inquisitors, but also of their servants and slaves.[1]

III

A striking phenomenon of the early years of the seventeenth century was the appearance of witchcraft. The witches greatly disturbed the communities where they appeared, and their presence in great numbers offered one of the very serious problems, which the inquisitors had to face. When a person of his own will

[1] Medina, *La Inquisición en Cartagena*, 129.

was blasphemous or heretical, the case was simple, and the inquisitors had no doubt as to the propriety of punishing him; but when a woman was drawn into a league with the devil, and the devil operated through her to the confusion and terror of her neighbours, a more complicated question presented itself. The devil, who was the offending spirit, was not an ordinary person to be cited before the tribunal; and in view of the existence of a league between him and a woman, in which the woman was the subordinate member, the officers of the tribunal might naturally raise a doubt as to the justice of punishing the woman.[1]

The energy displayed by Mañozca in conducting the affairs of the Inquisition, and his attempt to override the bishop and the governor, raised against him a large number of enemies, who, by reports to the Council of the Indies, sought to break down his authority and effect his removal from office. They emphasized especially accounts of his immorality, conscious that such reports would have more weight with the council and the king than tales of the harshness with which the Inquisition had been administered. The Prince of Esquilache was commissioned to halt at Cartagena on his vogage to Peru, and to make inquiries concerning the state of affairs in that province, and particularly concerning the conduct

[1] Referring to this subject, Medina calls attention to the book by Gaspar Navarro, which was printed in Huesca in 1631, and which was called *Tribunal de superstición ladina, explorador del saber, astucia y poder del demonio, en que se condena lo que suele correr por bueno en hechizos, agüeros, ensalmos, vanos saludones, etc.*, in which the author described with much erudition "the subject-matter indicated in the title of the work, the reading of which is indispensable for an explanation of the beliefs of the Spaniards of the seventeenth century" respecting the treatment of witchcraft. Medina refers also to Alonso de Sandoval's *Naturaleza, historia sagrada y profana, costumbres y ritos, disciplina y catecismo evangelico de todos etiopes.* The author was rector of the Colegio de la Compañia de Jesus de Cartagena, and his book was published in Seville in 1627. In it "one finds described *in extenso* whatever appertains to those negroes who were tried by the inquisition" (*La Inquisición en Cartagena*, 121).

of Mañozca. Although Esquilache's report was favourable to the inquisitor, still adverse accounts from other quarters continued to reach the council in considerable numbers; and an order was finally issued, requiring Mañozca to present himself before the council. The inquisitor, therefore, sailed for Spain near the end of July 1620, and three months later he appeared in Madrid. With the letters of commendation which he had received from his friends in Cartagena, and other documents, he made so effective a defence that in the following April the inquisitor-general wrote to the Inquisition in Cartagena that Mañozca would return to his seat in the tribunal.

During the absence of Mañozca, Salcedo continued the conflict with the bishop and the civil authorities, and at the same time much of the inquisitor's attention was absorbed by new cases of witchcraft. Shortly after Mañozca's return, an *auto-de-fé* was celebrated, March 13, 1622, at which, for the first time, a victim was burned at Cartagena. On this occasion Mañozca was the sole inquisitor, for Salcedo had died on the 27th of December 1621. The person burned was an Englishman, thirty-two years of age, a Protestant, who adhered to his heresy in spite of all efforts to convert him, and who, to quote the statement of the inquisitor, "seated himself, of his own will, without being bound, upon the bundles of wood, and remained there without moving one of his feet from where he had placed them." Of the other victims, six were witches, and the eighth was a Spaniard accused of bigamy. Mañozca, as a reward for his zeal, was promoted to the Inquisition of Lima, and Agustin de Ugarte y Saravia was appointed to succeed him. A few years later, the famous *auto-de-fé* of June 17, 1626, was celebrated, after elaborate preparations, which had lasted for two months.[1]

[1] An account of the ceremony and of the twenty-two victims, by an eye-witness, is printed in Medina, *La Inquisición en Cartagena*, 175–94. In Mañozca's account of the *auto-de-fé* of 1623, the name of the Englishman who was burned is given as Adán Edón. See Medina, 158.

With the transfer of the inquisitor Ugarte y Saravia to the diocese of Chiapa in March 1629, Martin de Cortázar y Azcárate, the brother of the Archbishop of Bogotá, was appointed to the seat in the Inquisition thus made vacant. The other inquisitor at this time was Vélez y Argos. The expectations of the inquisitors that the mildness of the governor would permit them to dominate the affairs of the district were doomed to disappointment. That officer had gradually laid aside his pacific policy, and, with the accession of Francisco de Murga, the inquisitors found that they had to deal with one who was not disposed to be submissive, but to exercise whatever authority the law imposed upon him. In this state of things they drew out the somewhat antiquated weapon of excommunication. In this period of discouragement, the project of transferring the Inquisition to Bogotá was discussed, but without any practical result. In the meantime, Governor Murga's reports to the Council of the Indies moved that body to cite the inquisitor Velez y Argos to appear in Madrid. Before the council he used whatever influence he could command to set aside the effect of Murga's reports. In favour of the inquisitor was the fear entertained by the government that an unqualified endorsement of Murga's views would tend to intimidate the inquisitors everywhere, and deprive them of the independence required for a proper performance of their functions; while at the same time it would embolden the governors to assert their power and proceed to new controversies.

The strained relations which existed between the principal authorities of the State were relieved by the death of Governor Murga. But after this event, Vélez y Argos continued his defence; the king, however, followed the opinion of his council, and decided against the return of the inquisitor to Cartagena.

These controversies employed much of the time of the inquisitors, but, in the *autos-de-fé* which followed,

they returned to their diabolic work with more than their usual ferocity; and the tales of torture which fill the later records make one wonder not merely that human beings should have done these things, but that they could have written down in calmness and cold blood detailed descriptions of the horrible suffering of their victims.

A large number of the early victims of the Inquisition in Cartagena were negroes tried for witchcraft. After the promotion of Mañozca the Portuguese Jews, who had acquired great importance in the commercial affairs of Lima, became the objects of inquisitorial solicitude. Information obtained in Peru concerning the presence of Jews in Cartagena was transmitted to that city, causing them to be subjected to vigorous persecution. One of the first victims was Blas de Paz Pinto, "a man who was beloved and esteemed by the whole city." "At the third turn," when tortured, he confessed that he was a Jew. In attempting to cure him after this exercise, it was found that parts of his body were injured to such an extent that mortification set in; some of his toes had to be cut off; and to complete the wreck, fever, lockjaw, and paralysis followed. In this state he was held, his judges reserving him for a second torture, in case he should live. But at this point he disappointed them, for eight days after his torture he died, February 19, 1637, and his property was confiscated. Some of the others had more physical endurance, for we read that Luis Fernandez Suárez suffered five turns of the *mancuerda*.[1]

By confiscating the property of persons tried and condemned, and by other means, the Inquisition, in 1659, had acquired over expenses a balance of 430,414 pesos. Hereafter, for decade after decade, it pursued its monotonous course of condemnations and confiscations; by its system of spying leading men to distrust their fellows in all the relations of life; by its outrageous punishments

[1] Medina, *La Inquisición en Cartagena*, 225.

leaving behind it a trail of misery; and by its persecution of intellectual freedom manifesting itself as the most diabolical of all human institutions.[1]

[1] For a list of the *autos-de-fé*, and of the victims during the later history of the Inquisition in Cartagena, see Medina, *La Inquisición en Cartagena*, 267 and ff.; also *Manifesto historico de los Procedimientos del Tribunal del Santo Officio de Cartagena*, &c., Cadiz, 1681.

CHAPTER XX

VALDIVIA'S SUCCESSORS AND THE ARAUCANIAN WAR

I. The question of the governorship of Chile. II. The Araucanian war. III. García Hurtado de Mendosa as governor and his treatment of Aguirre and Villagra. IV. Villagra governor of Chile. V. Successes of the Indians.

I

SOON after the death of Valdivia in 1554, the cabildo of Concepcion opened his political testament, and it was found that he had named to succeed him, in the first place, Jerónimo de Alderete; in the second place, Francisco de Aguirre; and in the third place, Francisco de Villagra. Alderete had been sent to Spain to obtain for Valdivia perpetual control of the colony, with the title of Marquis of Arauco. While there he was commissioned by the king to be the successor of Valdivia. Aguirre was in Tucuman, where he had been at the head of affairs for about a year and a half, when messengers from Chile brought to him the news of the death of Valdivia. They brought also letters from Aguirre's friends in Chile, suggesting that he should assume the office made vacant by the death of Valdivia. But the presence of Villagra in Chile gave him an advantage in the contest for the office of governor. He was, moreover, supported by the cabildo of Concepcion. The cabildo of Santiago, however, favoured Rodrigo de Quiroga, but later affirmed that it would exercise the supreme authority until the arrival of instructions from the audiencia of Peru. When Aguirre reached Serena, in April 1554, he found the affairs of

Chile in great confusion. The towns held antagonistic views respecting the headship of the government, and the Araucanians, given new confidence by their victory, had become more restless and more determined in their hostility. But in spite of the action of the cabildos of Concepcion and Santiago, Aguirre was disposed to insist on his right to the succession, and consequently sent a communication to the cabildo of Santiago, requesting that body to recognise him as governor of Chile. The cabildo, however, stood by its determination to receive neither Aguirre nor any other person, except under orders from the king. In the meantime Aguirre and Villagra maintained armed forces, in order that each might avoid the danger of being surprised by the other. It was then proposed that the contentions of the two leaders should be submitted to arbitration, a proposition which Villagra was willing to accept, but which was rejected by Aguirre on the ground that his right was complete. The practical decision in the case was that the cabildo should carry on the government temporarily, and that if the audiencia of Lima should not appoint a person within a period of seven months Villagra should be recognised as governor of Chile. Aguirre, however, was not disposed to give up his pretensions, and made a peremptory demand that the cabildo should recognise him as the governor. Knowing the energy and ability of Aguirre as a leader, the inhabitants of Santiago were seriously alarmed by his ultimatum, and immediately began preparations for resistance. During this agitation a messenger arrived from Lima, announcing that the revolutionist Giron had been defeated and had fled toward the south, and requesting Aguirre to prevent him from entering Tucuman or Chile. Aguirre naturally regarded this as a compliment, and fancied that a way would be immediately opened to the attainment of the object of his ambition. While the inhabitants of Chile were thus divided into antagonistic factions, and the colony was without a generally recog-

nised head, the government of Peru was in such a state as to render it incapable of furnishing any effective assistance. The vacancy in the post of viceroy left public matters in charge of the audiencia, and this body hesitated to make a positive decision concerning the government of Chile. Francisco de Riberos was in Lima urging the claims of Villagra; Diego Sanchez Moreles was the representative and advocate of Aguirre: but neither party seemed to make any progress in advocating the interests of its chief. Finally, however, in order to avert the impending civil war in Chile, the audiencia issued a decree that annulled the part of Valdivia's will which referred to his successor, and ordered that both Aguirre and Villagra should disband their troops, and that the state of affairs which prevailed at the time of the death of Valdivia should be maintained. A final provision of this decree was that the alcaldes of the cities should carry on the government and the administration of justice in their respective jurisdictions until the king should appoint a new governor. This decision satisfied nobody.

II

In the meantime, the war with the Araucanians absorbed the attentions of the settlers in the south. In February 1554, Villagra, having gathered the available forces, led them from Concepcion across the Biobio into the mountainous country of Marigueñu, where they met the enemy and suffered a complete defeat. Through the reverses suffered by Valdivia and Villagra the Araucanian war was fairly begun, and the events connected with it fill a large part of Chilean history during the next hundred years. It had begun in a manner to afford the Spaniards somewhat gloomy forebodings as to its future progress. After the defeat of Villagra, the town of Concepcion was

abandoned, and was soon after sacked by the forces of Lautaro. When the Indians had seized whatever seemed to them useful, or whatever attracted their curiosity, they set fire to the houses, and thus swept away everything from the site of the town but a few charred ruins. In his second campaign, Villagra was more successful, and was able to avert from Valdivia and Imperial the fate that had overwhelmed Concepcion. The Indians had established their characters as warriors in the minds of the invaders, but they had done it at an enormous cost. Their fields had been abandoned during the time for planting and harvesting, or had been ruined during the movements of the war, and there followed the inevitable consequences, famine with its destructive accompaniment of disease. Want and pestilence appear to have broken the power of the Indians, for, in a later campaign, Villagra encountered little or no resistance.

He now put forth a new demand to be recognised by the cabildo of Santiago as governor of Chile; but that body adhered to its purpose to await the decision of a superior authority. Finally, the audiencia of Lima, the office of viceroy being vacant, appointed Villagra *corregidor* and *justicia mayor* of the territory of Chile. This appointment gave Villagra temporary control of the public affairs of the colony. Aguirre was not able to bear with equanimity this triumph of his rival. He refused to recognise Villagra's authority, and carried the cabildo of Serena with him into rebellion. The attitude assumed by Aguirre led Villagra to move against Serena with an armed force. The town was taken without resistance, but Aguirre retired out of reach toward the north, and continued his refusal to submit to his former rival. At this stage of the contest information was received that Alderete had died at Panama, and that the viceroy, on January 29, 1557, had appointed his son, García Hurtado de Mendoza, to be the governor of Chile.

By the appointment of this beardless youth, the hopes and ambitions of the two leaders were defeated.[1]

III

The persistent hostility of the Araucanians made it necessary for the governor to be supported by a large military force. Throughout the viceroy's dominions there were not wanting adventurers whose expectations had not been realised. The call for soldiers issued by the viceroy offered them at least occupation and a new field for exploits. Led by various motives, they presented themselves for service in sufficient numbers to constitute an important army. Ten ships under Don García in person took the infantry to the coast of Chile, while the cavalry went by land under the quartermaster-general, García Ramon. The infantry landed near Concepcion in April 1557, but the cavalry did not arrive till some months later. The Araucanians were not terrified by the great show of force made by the Spaniards, and determined to adhere to their ancient policy of war. The barbarous practices of the governor in either mutilating or putting to death all persons taken in war, had not the effect to subdue the enemy, but rather to inflame them with a desire for revenge. Even the women were moved

[1] The governors of Chile between the appointment of García Hurtado de Mendoza and the end of the sixteenth century are named in the following list:

García Hurtado de Mendoza	1556–1561
Francisco de Villagra	1561–1563
Pedro de Villagra (*interim*)	1563–1565
Rodrigo de Quiroga (*interim*)	1565–1567
The audiencia	1567–1568
Bravo de Saravia	1568–1575
Rodrigo de Quiroga	1575–1580
Ruiz de Gamboa (*interim*)	1580–1583
Alonso de Sotomayor	1583–1592
Oñez de Loyola	1592–1598
Pedro de Viscarra (*interim*)	1599
Francisco de Quiñones (*interim*)	1599–1600

by this spirit, and fought in the ranks with the men. But all their bravery did not permanently avail against the more effective arms of the Spaniards.

The conquest of Cuyo which had been begun by Francisco de Aguirre was later completed by Pedro Castillo, acting under the orders of Governor Mendoza. Castillo founded two cities east of the Andes, which he called San Juan and Mendoza. The latter was named in honour of the family of Governor Mendoza.

The conduct of Hurtado de Mendoza toward Aguirre was marked with deceit and hypocrisy. Soon after the arrival of the new governor at the port of Coquimbo, Aguirre went on board Mendoza's ship, and was received with military music and a salute from the artillery; and Mendoza made to him this hypocritical announcement: "What greatly relieved the pain which my father, the viceroy, suffered in parting from me in order to send me on this expedition, was the knowledge that I would find in this country a person of experience and mature judgment from whom in all matters relating to the service of the king I should be able to receive counsel and advice." But in spite of the apparently friendly attitude of Mendoza, it was clear that he regarded the presence of Aguirre in Chile as a hindrance to the execution of his plans. Aguirre was, therefore, invited by the governor to join a hunting party near the coast, and was there arrested and taken to a ship lying at anchor in the port of Coquimbo. This action was entirely unexpected by Aguirre, and he was given no time or opportunity to make any arrangements with respect to his extensive business affairs. A little later Villagra was also arrested, taken to Valparaiso, conducted by sea to Coquimbo, and there placed on the ship that was to take both these old conquistadores to Lima. Aguirre and Villagra were granted a certain degree of liberty, but they were forbidden to return to Chile. The treatment which they had received at the hands of the governor of Chile, and that which they now

received at the hands of the viceroy, was such as to cause these officials to be condemned by the whole population of Peru. And Philip II was moved by it to inflict a severe punishment upon the viceroy and his son. But Aguirre, although compelled to bear the burden and humiliation of a long trial, had the satisfaction of gathering about him his wife, his two daughters, and his younger son, who had recently arrived from Spain after a separation of twenty-three years.

After the close of the fruitless trial, the viceroy found pretexts for retaining Aguirre in Lima. The real reason for his detention was the fear that his presence in Chile would hinder the execution of the governor's plans. But finally, in the middle of 1559, he was permitted to return to Serena with his family. He had been taken away without having opportunity to put his affairs in order, and he now returned to find that during the two years of his absence his rights had been invaded, much of his property had fallen into strange hands, and it would require some time to re-establish his control. Beyond caring for his estate, Aguirre's only ambition at this time was to be reinstated as governor of Tucuman. In the meantime, Philip II had appointed the Count of Nieva viceroy in place of the Marquis of Cañete; and Villagra, through the influence of his friends and advocates in Spain, obtained for himself the post of Chile. The energetic action of Philip II. in dismissing Hurtado de Mendoza naturally brought to Aguirre a certain measure of satisfaction; but this was counterbalanced by the appointment of his ancient rival. Although without office, he continued to live in northern Chile like a feudal baron. He had regained possession of his fortress-like house and his extensive lands, and the manorial independence which he enjoyed made him virtually the governor of this northern region. "All his pretensions," Juan de Herrera wrote to the king, "indicate a desire to govern and not to obey"; and his attitude towards the alcaldes showed his deter-

mination to make his will recognised a
force in the communities of that regio
Aguirre were not disposed to be more
their father.

During the period of his administra
attention was almost exclusively direc
paigns against the Araucanians; and, i
of 1560, he announced that the conqu
complete, and the pacification of the
plished. This was generally believed i
was the substance of the governor's rep
But the king was not satisfied with the c
the viceroy or the governor. He had r
pointment of the governor by his father
act of favouritism, especially without ju
it ignored both Aguirre and Villagra, w
fidelity to the interests of the colony
manifest by their long service. And wh
proclaiming his achievements with great
the king had already given expression
recalling both the viceroy and the govern

But the Araucanian war was not ende
of the unsubdued natives finds express
which a chief, or an Indian ambassador,
made to the governor of Chile in the las
sixteenth century. The governor had
impress the Indian with an idea of the gr
King of Spain, and to make it evident that
should submit and acknowledge the Spa
masters.

"We are not ignorant," the ambassad
the power of your prince, which extends
the west. But we are not to be despise
we are but a small people, we have never
resisted his immense power. Your ideas

[1] On the king's letter of recall addressed to the
see Barros Arana, *Historia jeneral de Chile*, ii. 214.

are very different from ours. By peace we understand an entire cessation of hostilities, which is to be followed by a complete renunciation on your part of any pretended right of control over us, and the restoration of all those lands which you have occupied in our territories. You, on the contrary, under that name, seek to subject us, to which we will never consent while we have a drop of blood left in our veins." [1]

This speech may have no more authenticity than many other speeches reported by historians; but that it represents the spirit of the Araucanians is sufficiently indicated by the events of their long struggle with the Spaniards.

The following speech, which might have been made by an Araucanian prisoner who had witnessed the outrages committed by the Spaniards, gives expression to the spirit of his people and to a prophetic vision that, in some measure at least, has been realised:

"I am your captive. You have killed our men and carried away our women and children. Our houses are in ruins, and our little fields are left desolate. The summer has come many times since you began to murder my people. One after one our villages have been burned, and all that we had has been taken from us. We have become strangers in the valleys where sometime the blue smoke of our hearth-fires ascended through the green branches of our forests. You tell us you came to make us know your god, but we reply we will not know him. He is a weak and unjust god, or long ago he would have stretched forth his hand to smite you for your cruel treatment of those who lived before us. You fancy, because your battle-axes have fallen heavily upon us, and your spears have pierced us, that we are subdued. The Araucanian is never subdued. He was born free. You may put chains on his body, but you cannot put chains on his spirit. You may kill our warriors and make

[1] Molina, ii. 215.

our country a desert; but you will marry our women, and your children will have the strong blood of the Araucanian. You may whiten their faces; you may teach them to go to your temples, and pray to your god; but they will not be like you. Their blood will be our blood, and their spirit will be our spirit. The Araucanian has always triumphed, and he will still triumph. Your children's children will rule the land, but they will be our children. Their mothers will be our women, from whose breasts they will have drawn the hatred you have aroused in us. The generations who come after you will hate the stranger as we have hated you. They will be like us. You may tear us in pieces with your horses; you may burn us with hot irons; you may pull out our tongues by the roots; but the Araucanian will not be conquered. Your children will be his children, and in them his spirit will survive unsubdued to the latest days."

IV

Villagra, after he had been appointed governor, arrived in Chile, June 5, 1561. His predecessor, Mendoza, had left the colony three months earlier. The vessel that brought Villagra from Callao to Serena introduced a number of cases of smallpox into the country, and the disease spread with marvellous rapidity, and was especially fatal among the Indians, who thought the Spaniards were employing it as an additional means for destroying the natives, or another agency in warfare; for in spite of Mendoza's announcements about the pacification of the Indians, all the southern settlements were threatened by their hostile neighbours. Frequent campaigns were thought to be necessary as the only means for defending the conquests already made, and for preventing the massacre of the settlers and the destruction of their property. But Villagra's physical infirmities made it impossible for him to be an effective leader in these campaigns. He was helpless,

moreover, in the presence of the internal disorders that afflicted the colony.

The end of Villagra had doubtless been expected by the viceroy of Peru; for that officer had authorised him to designate a person who, in case of his death, might perform the duties of a governor until they should be assumed by an appointee of the king. In the exercise of this power he designated his cousin, Pedro de Villagra. He died June 22, 1563.

Captain Pedro de Villagra, who became *interim* governor in 1563, was not a stranger in Chile. He had been associated with Valdivia in the period of the conquest, and he had acquired distinction by his defence of Imperial during the first uprising of the Indians. The state of affairs had not greatly changed: the Indians were still in revolt; the colony was kept poor by the continuance of the war; and the hope of finding an abundance of gold had vanished. For lack of forces, Pedro de Villagra found it advisable to abandon the fort of Aruaco; and the Indians, made bold and aggressive by the advantage already gained, pressed forward to new victories. The inhabitants of Santiago, which was still a miserable village embracing not more than three hundred Spaniards, were convinced of the impending danger by reports brought by soldiers fleeing from defeats they had suffered in the south; and they made use of all available resources to send assistance to those who were doing what they were able to stem the northward movement of the barbarians.[1]

V

In spite of the increase of the Spanish forces, effected by the addition of soldiers sent from Peru, during the administration of Pedro Villagra, the new *interim* governor,

[1] Memorial cerca del Gobierno y Guerra del Reyno de Chile, del Licenciado Juan de Herrera, *Doc. inéd.*, xx. 169.

Pedro de Quiroga (1565–1567), found it advisable to make extensive preparations for his proposed campaign. These were made in part at the expense of the royal treasury and in part by contributions from his private funds. But Quiroga, after he had gained certain advantages over the enemy, overestimated, like some of his predecessors, the effects of his military successes, and underestimated the reserve force of the Araucanians. Although certain outposts that had been destroyed were re-established, the cause of peace was not greatly advanced.

During this period some additional knowledge of the southern country was obtained through the exploration of Chiloé by General Ruiz de Gamboa. But the most important change in the circumstances of the colony at this time was the establishment of a royal audiencia for Chile, the decree creating it being dated August 27, 1565. The Tribunal was composed of four members, three sent from Spain, and one, Melchor Bravo de Saravia, taken from the audiencia of Lima. Of the members sent from Spain, one died in Panama, and the other two arrived at Serena in April 1567. About four months later the audiencia was installed in Concepcion, as the supreme court of the colony, and at the same time, in accordance with the royal decree, it became the administrative head of the government. In this latter capacity it undertook to reorganise the military forces, but its work was hindered by the poverty of the country, and its attempts to establish peaceful relations with the Indians were unsuccessful. In 1568, under a commission issued by the king, September 23, 1567, Melchor Bravo de Saravia assumed the office and functions of governor of Chile (1568–1575). The experience of his predecessors was an inefficient teacher for Bravo de Saravia. He assumed his duties as governor with the baseless expectation of ending the Araucanian war in a very short time by the uncompromising exercise of force. Without comprehending the real situation he entered at once upon a campaign; and

at Mareguano, or Catirai, he suffered a defeat quite as disastrous as any that had occurred during the whole course of the hostilities. The members of the colony appreciated more fully than the governors the burdens of the war, and the obstacles which it put in the way of their individual and social welfare. The encomenderos sought to buy immunity from service. They offered to give one-eighth of the gold taken from their mines, on condition that they and their sons would be relieved from the obligation of becoming soldiers. After the defeat of Mareguano, the troops were demoralised, and the hopes with which the governor had entered upon his duties had vanished.

These disastrous wars gave Chile a bad reputation, and caused it to be known in Peru as "the grave of Spaniards." So hopeless had the state of affairs become that Bravo de Saravia had more than once requested to be relieved of the office in which he had encountered only misfortune. But the governor was not the only one who had been discovered willing to withdraw from the country. The mestizo, Juan Fernandez, a silversmith, fancied he might be more fortunate on the other side of the cordillera, and sought to persuade others to accompany him. For this offence he was hanged. No one who was able to bear arms was permitted to leave the country.

Quiroga, as governor of Chile (1575–1580), encountered a varity of embarrassments. The perennial conflict with the Araucanians continued to absorb the attention of the governor and the revenues of the colony. Indians who had hitherto been friendly were driven to revolt by the outrageous treatment they had received. The Church felt itself sufficiently powerful to have a policy of its own; and its pretensions to independence found expression in the assertion of authority, by the bishop of Imperial, to appoint a certain class of priests without the intervention of the civil power, a pretension which

violated the practice established throughout the Spanish king's dominions. And finally, the comet of 1577 appeared as a messenger portending evil, which seemed to them to be realised in the coming of Drake to sail the Pacific, and plunder the towns of the faithful.

CHAPTER XXI

THE INQUISITION IN CHILE

I. The trial of Alonso de Escobar. II. Calderon the commissary for Chile. III. *Auto-de-fés* and foreign heretics. IV. Increase in the number of Jews. V. Controversies provoked by the Inquisition.

I

THE creation of the audiencia gave to the government of Chile a degree of practical independence, which it had not previously enjoyed; but, in the management of internal affairs, the secular authorities often found themselves in this period opposed by the bishops representing the pretensions of the Church. Chile was, moreover, subject to intervention by a power independent of both the bishop and the secular government. This was exercised by the officers of the Inquisition resident in the country. The inquisitorial functions were performed by bishops or other officers, in Chile as well as elsewhere in South America, before the establishment of the Tribunal in Lima. Whether exercised by the bishop or commissaries of the Holy Office, the power of the inquisitors was a disturbing factor in the affairs of this isolated province, and stood as an obstacle to the progress of social enlightenment and the development of individual intelligence. In its zeal to cause all men to entertain a common belief, it was especially watchful to detect any signs of departure from the standard, or to discover the beginnings of heresy.[1]

Inquisitors began their work in Chile soon after the foundation of the colony. As early as 1562, eight years

[1] Barros Arana, *Historia jeneral de Chile*, iv. 237.

before the organisation of the Holy Office in Lima, a person named Alonso de Escobar was tried for heresy. He had taken part in certain military expeditions, and was living in Santiago. The alleged heretical statement was made in the public plaza, and came to the knowledge of the archdeacon, Francisco de Paredes, the visitador and vicar-general of Chile, and the Dominican friar, Gil González de San Nicholas. Escobar was reported to have said that when Friar Gil González preached "on the text of the gospel, he listened to him willingly, and when he entered upon the ethics of the gospel, he stopped up his ears." The next day Paredes caused a charge to be drawn up affirming that the language of Escobar was scandalous, opposed to the Christian religion, and expressed one of the opinions of Martin Luther.

Beginning on the 11th of August, the witnesses were examined, and on the seventeenth, Diego de Frias, having been appointed prosecuting attorney for the case, charged that Escobar had little fear of God; that his soul was in great danger; that he made heretical statements publicly before all the people, through which a bad example was set to the faithful and to the newly converted natives; that he had said he heard willingly the sermons on the texts of the gospel, but that he stopped his ears and did not wish to hear what was said on the ethics, "which is the substance of what the faithful Christians have to hold and believe for the safety of their souls." The attorney further affirmed that in this matter the said Alonso de Escobar fell into one of the errors of Martin Luther, and, as a Lutheran, ought to be punished with the heaviest and most severe punishments established by law, and his property confiscated. He, moreover, urged the court and his majesty, the King of Spain, to impose these punishments upon the accused, and to subject him to severe imprisonment, in order that there might be executed upon his person and his property the sentence to be pronounced against him. Escobar asked

that a lawyer might be appointed to defend him, and the archdeacon, sitting as judge for the bishop, granted his request, and appointed Juan de Escobedo.

Escobedo, replying to the accusation, maintained that Escobar was a Christian descended from Christian ancestors; that he held to the faith of the Holy Mother Church of Rome; that his ancestors had never been punished by the Inquisition; and that the words of which he was accused had been uttered simply and not in malice. After this the contestants went on very much as the parties proceed in a profane suit at law, but with apparently a little less respect for real evidence. On the 29th of August the judge rendered his decision. In this decision he held that the prosecuting attorney had not proved his charge, for the words which Alonso de Escobar had uttered were not heretical, nor in opposition to what the Holy Mother Church of Rome had determined. The prisoner was consequently released, with the injunction not to comment on the proceedings of this case. Failure to follow this warning would subject him to a prosecution with the most rigorous penalty the law would permit. Although no case was proved against him, he was condemned to bear the costs of the trial; and the judge in pronouncing the decision withheld temporarily the determination of the amount of these costs. When they were finally fixed, they were as follows: the prosecuting attorney, forty-four dollars; the bailiff, for executing the order for imprisonment, four dollars; the judge, for his signature, fifteen dollars; and the notary, seventy-eight dollars. After all these payments had been made, the prosecuting attorney requested that the case might be carried to Lima to be reviewed by a higher court; and the judge allowed this course to be taken, and at the same time ordered Frias, the prosecuting attorney, to appear there within a reasonable time.

II

The months following the trial of Escobar were filled with quarrels, in which nearly all the principal persons of Chile were involved. The weapon of excommunication was freely used. Some of the supposedly faithful turned out to be heretics, while some who had been accounted heretics appeared among the orthodox. Civil and ecclesiastical officials were at loggerheads, and confusion reigned throughout the colony. Towards the end of July 1563, several of the more conspicuous characters who had participated in the quarrels and trials, were on their way to Lima to present their cases before the royal audiencia of Peru. The events of these months of internal controversies indicate that already the clergy of Chile, armed with inquisitorial powers, proposed to make their presence felt by the civil authorities. This was still more evident in the charges brought against Governor Francisco de Aguirre.

Perhaps the most conspicuous trial of this period in Chile was that of the archdeacon of the cathedral of Santiago, Francisco de Paredes, already notorious for having sat as judge in the case of Escobar. The accusation in this and in practically all of the cases tried under the bishops was based on utterances that were thought to reveal a state of mind at variance with that which the ecclesiastical authorities insisted should be maintained by the faithful. And when it became known that the king had established a regularly organised Tribunal of the Inquisition in Peru, a number of these cases were appealed to that court for a final decision.

On the 2nd of April 1572, Cerezuela, the inquisitor of the Tribunal at Lima, appointed Melchor Calderon commissary for Chile.[1] At this time Calderon was the

[1] The commission issued to Calderon is printed in Medina, *Historia de la inquisición en Chile*, i. 230.

treasurer of the cathedral of Santiago. He was superior in learning to the majority of his contemporaries in the clergy; he was an administrator of ability and a zealous preacher; but his position was such as to make inevitable serious controversies with the bishop, who could take no disciplinary measure with respect to him. The position of these two officials, independent of one another, necessarily involved them in quarrels. In the sacristy of the cathedral, Calderon told the subdeacon, Andrés del Campo, that the bishop had acted very unwisely in appointing his nephew sacristan, for the citizens of Santiago were saying that he had done it in order to increase his revenues. And when he had said the bishop was "no gentleman," the antagonism was fully declared.[1] The bishop finally appealed to the Council of the Indies; and that body reprimanded the commissary and ordered him to be obedient to his prelate. For all delinquencies in opposition to religion, his bishop might punish him, and he was ordered to go in person and ask the bishop's pardon. The attempts made by later legislation to prevent conflicts between agents of the Inquisition and other officials were crowned with only indifferent success.

III

In spite of conspicuous differences, the society of Chile in the seventeenth century had certain characteristics that distinguish more enlightened communities: large numbers of persons found satisfaction in calling attention to the shortcomings of their neighbours. To such persons the organisation of the Inquisition and the appointment of commissaries presented an acceptable opportunity. They could tell with complete impunity all the damaging

[1] "El Obispo no es cabellero como yo lo soy, y juro que no es cabellero, y yo lo soy y de padres muy conocidos; y juro á Dios que me tengo de quejar, que no le envió el Rey ni el Papa á trater mal á sus prebendados" (Calderon to Andrés del Campo). See Medina, *Inquisición en Chile*, ii. 29.

things about their acquaintances that had come to their knowledge. For their communications to the commissary, whether true or false, they ran no risk of prosecution for libel; and there was a strong probability that their tales would be made the basis of a prosecution of their victims before the Tribunal of the Inquisition. In the early years of this institution, therefore, a large number of accusations were brought to the commissary. Some of them were trifling or unimportant, and not worthy of the notice of a serious court, while many others concerned the character and conduct of friars as exhibited in connection with their duties as confessors of women.[1]

Many of the persons here accused escaped with punishments much lighter than those sometimes inflicted by the Tribunal. Their good fortune in this respect was due in part to the great distance of their residence from Lima, and to the other fact that many of their offences were not sufficiently grave to warrant their transportation to that city, particularly when the majority of them had no property which could be taken as a contribution towards the expenses of the journey. In Lima, moreover, the cooperation of a large number of persons connected with the Tribunal tended to keep their zeal alert, while the commissary in Santiago, surrounded by influences to a certain extent hostile to the Inquisition, became inevitably negligent and indifferent in his undertaking; and this was a ground of advantage enjoyed by the accused Chileans.

During the early decades of the Inquisition, a large number of the persons accused were ecclesiastics. As already suggested, they abused in a most vile and scandalous manner the trust reposed in them by women presenting themselves for confession. From this point of view, one of the functions of the Tribunal might seem to be to hold in decent restraint the members of the clergy who had

[1] For a list of these cases in Santiago, see Medina, *Inquisición en Chile*, i. 265–284.

been appointed to be the moral and spiritual guides of the communities in which they lived.

There appear to have been no Chileans in the first *auto-de-fé* held in Lima, November 15, 1573; but for the second, celebrated April 13, 1578, and for many of the subsequent celebrations, Chile sent a number of victims. The inquisitors at the time of the *auto-de-fé* of 1592 were Antonio Gutierrez de Ulloa and Juan Ruiz de Prado. They ordered all of the inhabitants of the city, who were not unavoidably detained, to repair to the quarters of the Inquisition in order to accompany the standard of the faith to the place of execution; but the members of the audiencia and of the cabildos and the viceroy might go directly to the meeting. The hour for beginning the ceremony was five o'clock in the morning. There were forty-one "penitents," who had place in the procession, and they were accompanied by familiars and members of the religious orders. The procession was guarded on both sides by soldiers. Having arrived at the place of execution, all the high ecclesiastics and officials, the members of the cabildos of the city and of the university, the viceroy, and the vicereine took the places of honour that had been prepared for them. After a sermon preached by a brother of the viceroy, and the degradation of a condemned friar by the archbishop, the cases of the accused were brought forward and read.

This *auto-de-fé* is noteworthy for the number of Englishmen who appeared among the forty-one prisoners. Four of these were pirates or freebooters, who had been captured on the island of Puná. Their names, translated from the evidently corrupted forms in the records, appear to have been Walter Tillert, Edward Tillert, Henry Oxley, and Andrew Morley. It was charged against the first that he was a Lutheran; that on their ship he had taken the place of the chaplain, whenever that officer was unable to perform his duties. Edward Tillert, his half-brother, a youth of twenty-one, affirmed that he had been a Lutheran,

but that after his imprisonment he had
It was, however, maintained that he ha
this faith. Oxley was pertinacious in
and, like the brothers Tillert, was bur
was the youngest, only about eightee
placed in a Jesuit college, but was afte
to a prison. Here he confessed that he
tant before he entered the monastery,
become a Catholic. He was "reconcil
under the authority of the Jesuits for
punishment of these persons was appar
because they were pirates invading S
but because their faith was not of the
Spain.[1]

Religious faith in that age did nc
English mind to be inconsistent with
that nation carried on along the shores c
The leader of the squad that landed a
Drake's ship in 1578 was killed, and his
companions on shore. The Spaniards fo
pocket of the dead man a book with
quotations from the Bible, and this w
corregidor and solemnly burned. In fact
offence committed by the English pirate
coming to disturb the peace and commer
colonies, but the influence they exerted
ideas which they brought with them."[2]

The wish that the colonists might not
faith of Spain led to extraordinary act
As early as 1531, the queen having bee
many romances and profane histories, like
had been taken to the Indies, ordered tha
send to the Indies any books on history
jects, but only such books as dealt wit
religion. A few years later, Charles V s

[1] Medina, *Inquisición en Chile*, i. 355
[2] *Ibid.*, i. 360.

desire to preserve the faith of the colonists from contamination. "No persons who had been 'reconciled,' no sons or nephews of persons who had been burned, no Jews or newly converted Moors" should go to the Indies.[1]

After the establishment of the Inquisition in Lima, Philip II, by a decree of July 20, 1574, ordered the Bishop of Quito, the Archbishop of Lima, and other prelates in America to watch with great care, and inquire with all secrecy and find out if in their dioceses there were any of the disguised Lutheran preachers who had embarked for America. According to Medina, this document was not transmitted to the inquisitors, but it required that the Bishop of Quito should order his vicars residing at the seaports to exercise great care to prevent foreigners from landing from any ship. If any succeeded in landing, they should be sent to the capitol to be examined in accordance with the ordinances of the king. But arresting foreigners and bringing them to trial was not the least of the functions of the Inquisition; for if they were English or Dutch, as they were quite likely to be, the presumption was that they were heretics. Still, the personal opinions of the heretical pirates were not the only source of danger to the faith of the Indies, for which the foreigners were responsible. The books they brought with them were even more to be feared than the tales and romances that had already been condemned. Consequently the governors, the justices, the archbishops, and bishops were to collect all the books, which the heretics had brought or might bring to the colonies, and, in so far as possible, prevent the introduction of any foreign books in the future.[2]

[1] *Real cédula* of August 22, 1534, quoted by Medina, *Inquisición en Chile*, i. 361.

[2] Among the laws in the *Recopilación de leyes de las Indias* relating to the printing and sale of books in the Indies, that of September 21, 1556, provides that the judges and justices "shall not permit any book to be printed or sold which treats of subjects relating to the Indies, without having a special licence issued by the Council of the Indies; and they shall cause to be collected and shall collect and send to that body all the books which they shall find, and no printer

Although the Spanish authorities had no vital objection to sending books of devotion to America, yet they hedged the process about with so many forms, ordering each book to be specially registered, together with a declaration of its subject-matter, that this requirement amounted to an almost absolute legal prohibition; and this would have been the practical result if the law had been strictly executed. But in spite of the fact that ships arriving in American ports were searched to deter-

may print, hold, or sell them, under penalty of 200,000 maravedis and the loss of his printing office" (lib. i. tit. xxiv. ley 1). This was virtually an act or prohibition; for if manuscripts had been sent to Spain to be examined by the Council of the Indies, they would probably have been either lost or held so long as effectively to discourage their publication. Moreover, the cost of printing in the colonies was in itself a sufficient hindrance to publication. According to Padre Melendez, the author of *Tesoro verdadero de Indias*, as much could be done in printing with a hundred dollars in Madrid as with a thousand dollars in Peru (*Nueva Revista de Buenos Aires*, viii. 339). But an American author had printed a book in Spain or some other European country, there were serious obstacles to the return of the printed copies to America; for it was provided that no printed book treating of Indian subjects, whether issued in Spain or a foreign country, could be taken to the Indies until it had been examined and approved by the Council of the Indies. The penalty for violation of this law was loss of the book and 50,000 maravedis (*Leyes de Indias*, lib. i. tit. xxiv. ley 2).

The ecclesiastical authorities naturally favoured the production of religious works as well as grammars and dictionaries of the native languages, and the authors of such books apparently found no difficulty in securing support for their publication. But according to a law of Philip II, issued in 1584, no grammar or dictionary of an Indian language might be printed or used except after an examination by the ordinary and approval by the royal audiencia of the district (*Leyes de Indias*, lib. i. tit. xxiv. ley 3). Many books of this character were, however, published without reference to this legal requirement. Forty years earlier, September 29, 1543, Charles V had ordered the viceroys, the audiencias, and the governors to prevent the printing, selling, holding, or the bringing into their districts of books of fiction treating of profane subjects, and to provide that neither Spaniards nor Indians should read them. This legislation was designed to prevent the publication, sale, and reading of the romances of chivalry, which appear to have had a demoralising influence on the spirit of the Spaniards. At least this was a view largely entertained in Spain, for, in 1555, the Cortes asked that the prohibition which had been decreed with reference to Spanish America might be applied to the inhabitants of Spain itself. *Don Quijote* had

mine if they carried prohibited books, many publications reached the colonists by illegal channels, so that certain important private libraries were formed in the colonies before the end of the period of Spanish domination.

To provide against the evil influence of books that might be smuggled into American possessions, the viceroys, presidents, and judges were required to exercise the necessary diligence to find all condemned books, and if any were discovered, to deliver them to the archbishops, bishops, and other authorised persons in behalf of the Inquisition.

The monastery of San Lorenzo el Real had the privilege of printing certain prayer-books and other books to be used in worship, but these books could not be imported into the colonies without the special permission of the monastery. If it seemed necessary to place restrictions on the introduction of books printed under the direction of the monastery, the most extreme care might be expected with reference to the smuggling of heretics; and the heretical pirates were a source of constant fear. This fear was not based entirely on the fact that they might plunder Spanish-American cities; they were feared also because they might bring heretical books to the colonies; and by a law of Philip III, issued at Madrid, February 2, 1609, the governors and justices were commanded, and the archbishops and bishops were implored, to collect all the books which heretics might have brought, or might bring, into the country, and to use all possible means to

not appeared at that time. The first part was published in 1605, virtually at the end of the period of the chivalresque romances.

In this connection it is interesting to note the opinion expressed by Byron in *Don Juan* as to the influence of these romances on Spain:

"Cervantes smiled Spain's chivalry away;
A single laugh demolished the right arm
Of his own country;—seldom since that day
Has Spain had heroes. While Romance could charm,
The world gave ground before her bright array;
And therefore have his volumes done such harm,
That all their glory, as a composition,
Was dearly purchased by his land's perdition."—*Canto* 13, xi.

prevent their distribution to the detri
Catholic Faith of the king's vassals.

About the middle of the seventee
viceroy and presidents were ordered b
issue no licence in their districts for
book on any subject whatsoever, except
censured in accordance with law and
under the condition that twenty cop
should be sent to his Majesty's secretar
of the Council of the Indies.[1]

It was natural, therefore, that the
to establish themselves at Valdivia, in
seventeenth century, should have create
among those who had been charged w
the colonies; and even the sending
gineer, Frezier, in the eighteenth cent
to involve "the danger of introducin
country, whose Roman Catholic religi
in its purity."[2]

Two Dutchmen, who had been att
expedition, appeared to be especially
had deserted and remained in the cou
the danger that seemed to threaten "
Catholic religion," from the importati
king was aroused somewhat later, in
the eighteenth century, to issue a de
should "hinder or interrupt the free e
diction of the Holy Tribunal of the Inqu
recommended by the Apostolic See, and
ancestors; and that its agents should
might arrive at the ports of my domi
prevent the introduction of any kind o
be opposed to the truth of our sacre
coming of heretics and of heretical book

[1] *Leyes de Indias*, lib. i. tit. xxiv. leyes 4–15.

[2] Carta del oidor Don Diego de Zúñiga y Tol
quoted by Medina, *Inquisición en Chile*, i. 367; s

which this age can hardly appreciate, but which in the minds of the Spaniards of that time justified not only the existence and absolute power of the Inquisition, but also the inhuman cruelty that mark its activity.[1]

IV

In the early years of the seventeenth century, the faithful in Chile and elsewhere in South America feared the spread of Judaism. A certain ground for this fear was found in the increasing number of Portuguese immigrants, many of whom were Jews. They entered Peru from all sides, and in the course of time they acquired sufficient influence to control the commerce of Lima.[2] This state of things led the king to inquire into the advisability of establishing a new Tribunal of the Inquisition in the province of Tucuman, and moved the inquisitors to call for the severest measures of repression. New prisons were constructed to contain the prisoners now arrested in greater numbers than ever before; and soon these were found to be inadequate, and attempts were made to rent other buildings in Lima that might serve as prisons for the suspects who could not be confined elsewhere.

It would not be profitable, if it were possible, to set forth the torments suffered by these prisoners at the hands of the inquisitors, or to attempt to determine to what extent a desire for their wealth led to the arrest of certain persons, and moved the Inquisition to inflict upon

[1] The decree here referred to, dated February 23, 1713, is printed by Medina, *Inquisición en Chile*, i. 368.

[2] "Estaba esta ciudad cujada de ellos, muchos casados, y los más solteros; habíanse hecho señores del comercio; la calle que llaman de los mercaderos era casi suya; el callejón todo; y los cajonès los más; herbían por las calles vendiendo con petacas, á la manera que los lanceros en esa corte; todos los más corrillos de la plaza eran suyos; y de tal suerte se habían señoreado del trato de la mercancía, que desdel brocado al sayal, y desdel diamante al comino, todo corria por sus manos." See Medina, *Inquisición en Chile*, ii. 100.

them the cruelties which they had to endure. One of the most notable suspects was Maldonado de Silva. In 1639, he had been twelve years in prison. "The tortures which he had suffered had reduced his body to a mass of bones covered with a parchment-like skin," as his executioners said, but what he had to endure did not affect his views or dispose him to depart from his convictions. What these convictions were may be learned from the voluminous reports of interviews and discussions with him lasting through all these years. The substance of them was an affirmation of the unity of God and a denial of the reality of the Trinity. He was not without intellectual cultivation; he had been a surgeon in the city of Concepcion in Chile, and was the son of a Portuguese physician. Information against him was first brought to the commissary of Santiago by his sister, Doña Isabel, in July 1626, which was, in effect, that he was a Jew and an observer of the Law of Moses. After his long years of imprisonment he appeared in the procession of victims in the noted *auto-de-fé* of January 23, 1639. Fernando de Montesinos, in his detailed account of this *auto-de-fé*, described him as appearing "old and grey and dejected, with long hair and beard, and with the books which he had written tied about his neck." [1]

V

The circumstances of life in the colonies were favourable to the rise of controversies of many kinds. The isolation, the lack of progressive movement, and the absence of practical social issues led inevitably to bickering and strife about subjects of great importance or of no importance. The rivalry of institutions with respect to their powers was a fruitful source of conflict. Friction between the bishop and the Inquisition was observed

[1] Medina, *Inquisición en Chile*, ii. 114, 115, 142.

almost as soon as the Tribunal was organised. The pretensions of the two parties seemed to make it impossible for them to exist side by side in peace, and after Tomás Perez de Santiago became commissary, the battle in Chile was waged with unprecedented activity, and affected not only the relations of the ecclesiastical authorities to one another, but also the officials of the civil government. The audiencia of Santiago found the attitude and conduct of the commissary intolerable; and on the 7th of May, 1642, it appealed to the king against the acts of that official. The audiencia began its communication to the king with the statement that on another occasion it had informed his Majesty that the conduct of the commissary in Chile was prejudicial to the royal jurisdiction and power; and that at this time it was obliged to renew its appeal, on account of the continuance of the commissary's evil pretensions.

This preliminary statement was followed by an enumeration of the audiencia's grievances and proposals for a remedy. After much deliberation and discussion with his council, the king wrote to the oidores on the 12th of April 1645. He informed them that, having considered the various points of their communication, he had determined to order the Inquisition to abide by the *concordia*, without violating any part of it or any other decree or letter bearing on this subject; that the Inquisition should not permit the commissary of any city or province to depart from the ancient customs of the churches, or introduce any changes objectionable to the ecclesiastical or secular communities. He ordered also that the number of employees should be reduced, and that they should not enjoy the immunities and privileges of officers of the Inquisition.

Acting under the king's orders, the inquisitors undertook to set aside certain practices of the commissary that were in violation of the rules and spirit of the Holy Office. But it was found to be difficult to make this "infatuated

and intolerable" official keep within the limits of his proper authority and the traditions of the Tribunal. The inquisitors, however, finally overcame the difficulty by removing the unruly and grasping commissary from office, and putting in his place the archdeacon of the cathedral, Francisco Machado de Chavez, a declared enemy of Perez de Santiago, the deposed commissary. Under the new commissary, there were few arrests, and there was apparently a temporary reaction from the severe punishments that had been previously inflicted. One case which appeared in the middle of the century is especially noteworthy: 1. On account of the position which the offender held. 2. Because he was the first Jesuit from Chile to be brought before the Tribunal of the Inquisition. 3. Because of the shamelessness of his conduct with women in the confessional and out of it, in using the church as a house of illicit assignation, and in continuing his libertinism over a series of years.[1]

The sentence itself was less severe than the criminal's contemporaries thought the gravity of the crimes demanded. It consisted of penitential exercises and restrictions, such as repeating certain psalms, fasting on Saturday for a number of years; and of a prohibition to return to Chile. The decree of banishment for four years from the archbishopric of Lima originally issued was withdrawn in favour of a substitute, which required a daily prayer of the entire rosary for a period of four years. The offender was, however, accorded the privilege of visiting and instructing the Indians in the hospital of Santa Ana, and of attending the dying.

The leniency shown the criminal in this case is an

[1] The long list of offences for which a sentence was rendered, was presented by Bernardo de Eizaguirre, the fiscal of the Holy Office. The accusation, involving a statement of these offences, is printed, with other documents, in Medina's *Inquisición en Chile*, ii. 233–247, as the author of that work says, "without comment, but with the passages that might not be transcribed in Spanish translated into Latin."

indication that the officers of the Inquisition were not disposed to impose very severe punishments on the members of the clergy for moral delinquency. Other evidence would also seem to show that the Tribunal in the middle of the seventeenth century had already lost some of its efficiency as a guardian of clerical morality, although still vigorous in defence of orthodox belief.

CHAPTER XXII

THE VICEROYALTY OF PERU IN T
CADES OF THE SIXTEENTH

I. The third provincial council of Lima. II. S
dish in the Strait of Magellan. III. P
alcabala riots in Quito. V. Carvajal's mono

I

MARTIN ENRIQUEZ was the viceroy of
was appointed, in 1580, to succeed Fra
He brought to his new position the p
guished birth, and of the high office fr
transferred to Peru. He was already
the years of most effective service, and h
closed by his death less than two years
in Lima. During this period affairs o
tracted much attention. An *auto-de-f*
on the 29th of October 1581, and th
marked by the begininng of a provincia
under the presidency of Archbishop
Mogrobejo y Robles, who is usually know
The letter of convocation for this coun
15, 1581, was addressed to the ten s
those of Panama, Nicaragua, Cuzco, P
Plata (Chuquisaca), Santiago de Chile
Chile, Paraguay, and Tucuman. They
to meet on August 15, 1582. The a
formed on this date embraced, besides
viceroy, the audiencia, the ecclesias
cabildos, the procuradores of the other
kingdom, the clergy, the regular prel

and doctors of theology and of other sciences, and a number of other men distinguished by their virtue and learning. They went in solemn procession from the Dominican church to the cathedral. The bishops of Quito, La Plata, and Tucuman arrived later, and those of Panama, Popayan, and Nicaragua were not present at any time, on account of the great distance, or because the sees were vacant.

Part of the work undertaken by the council was made necessary by the long vacancy in the archbishopric, which extended from the death of Loayza, in 1575, to the arrival of Saint Toribio, in 1581. This was the third provincial council of Lima. A fourth was held in 1591, and a fifth in 1598. The distance from the court and the infrequent communication made it necessary for the ecclesiastical as well as the political authorities to assume a large measure of independence. Somewhat of this independence was manifest in the action of the third council, which issued a catechism for the instruction of the Indians, arranged the discipline of the Church, and called to account ecclesiastics whose conduct was not approved.[1]

The government of the audiencia followed that of Viceroy Enriquez, and was continued until the arrival of Fernando Torres y Portugal, November 25, 1585. It was characterised by the ordinary weaknesses of a collegiate executive. In view of the great extent of the viceroyalty, the diverse interests of the different parts, and the reluctance of other audiencias to subordinate themselves to the audiencia of Lima, this audiencia was unable to maintain an effective government, or to complete the execution of Toledo's plans, which were designed to order and establish the institutions of the viceroyalty. Favoured by this weakness of the secular government, the ecclesiastical organisation grew in strength, and manifested a disposition to allow its influence to be felt in secular affairs.

[1] Mendiburu, vii. 221–230.

II

To the last half of the decade from
longs the disastrous result of the atte
region about the Strait of Magellan.
whom Toledo had sent to the Strait, in
Drake, was disappointed in this unde
mined to examine the coasts of the Stra
out the most suitable place for fort
having completed his survey, he sailed
he arrived in August 1580. After he ha
the king determined to fortify and guai
expedition of twenty-four ships and t
was organised under the direction of Ge
de Valdés and Sarmiento. The latte
superintendent of the establishments t
the beginning of the voyage, the fle
severe storm. Several of the ships wer
of the others were badly damaged an
Spain. Sarmiento succeeded in reachi
four ships in January 1583. He selec
fort, left there one hundred and fifty m
his explorations. At a narrow part
founded a town, which he called San F
point he turned back with his four v
return to Spain. Off the coast of Braz
an English squadron, which gave batt
stroyed or captured all that remained
pedition. Sarmineto was liberated la
suffer ill-fortune the rest of his days.
which attended this enterprise were n
storms and English hostility. Jealous
sible for the leaders to act in harmony.
Valdés returned to Spain, he disemba
men at Buenos Aires, who went overl

Governor Alonso de Sotomayor, crossing the cordillera from Mendoza.[1]

It was during the reign of Viceroy Torres y Portugal, in 1587, that Thomas Cavendish, following the exploits of Drake, entered the Strait of Magellan with three vessels and a hundred and twenty-three men. Of the company left by Sarmiento at San Filipe, only one, Fernando Gomez, remained to tell the tale of misery and starvation. In more than three years they had received no assistance from either Spain or Peru. They had planted seeds which they had brought with them, but at that latitude there was little or no product. A party of twenty-three persons, two of whom were women, had left San Filipe in search of an inhabited region, but nothing is known of their fate. Cavendish passed through the Strait, and reached the port of Quintero, about twenty-five miles north of Valparaiso, in April, 1587. The news of his arrival spread rapidly throughout Chile, but the alarm with which it was received was soon abated by the recollection of the repulse Drake had suffered near Coquimbo. The people formed companies for defence, and at Arica prevented the attacking party from making rich booty of a quantity of bars of silver that had been deposited near the landing. In May, Cavendish sailed northward along a shore that

[1] Sarmiento's memorial addressed to the king, giving an account of the expedition, is printed in *Documentos inéditos* (Madrid, 1864), v. 286; Mendiburu, iii. 351; vii. 250–254; Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, *Viaje al Estrecho de Magallanes, en los años* 1579 *y* 1580; *y noticia de la espedicion que depues hizo para poblarlo.* Peralta, *Lima Fundada*, Canto VII, 85, makes the following reference to Sarmiento's mission to the Strait:

> " Aquel que allí se ofrece es el Sarmiento,
> Nuevo Teséo del austral undoso
> Laberinto del líquido elemento,
> Minotauro de espumas proceloso:
> Al Draque irá á impedir el fiero intento;
> Y demarcado el Bósforo sinuoso,
> Domando el golfo con triunfante entena,
> Su capitolio hará la hesperia arena."

See also Canto V, 42.

was practically undefended. He took a ship in the port of Callao, sacked Paita, and off the coast of California captured a vessel from Manila, which was loaded with valuable articles from China. In returning to England he touched at the Ladrone Islands, the Philippines, Java, St. Helena, and the Azores.

The incursions of the English induced the viceroy to place a garrison at Callao. But pirates were not the greatest affliction which the inhabitants suffered. An epidemic of smallpox ravaged the country. It was rendered more destructive by the fatalism of the people. They regarded it as a divine infliction, and made no effort to avoid contagion. They died by scores and hundreds. Villages were depopulated. Corpses were scattered over the fields or piled up in the houses or huts. All branches of industrial activity were paralysed. The fields were uncultivated; the herds were untended; and the workshops and the mines were without labourers. It was only with difficulty that the ships could be manned. The price of food rose to such an extent that many persons found it beyond their reach. They escaped the foul disease, but only to be wasted by famine.[1]

III

In spite of earthquakes, pirates, smallpox, and a superannuated viceroy, the colony increased in wealth and general prosperity. Arequipa and Piura, which had been thrown down, were reconstructed; and the progress of Lima became manifest in the increasing number of its inhabitants and the development of cultivation through the influence of the university. The principal factor of this progress was the wealth derived from the mines of Upper Peru, and in this region the signs of social growth were more evident than elsewhere. These mines pro-

[1] Lorente, *Historia del Perú bajo la dinastía austriaca*, 357.

duced vast quantities of silver during the last half of the sixteenth century, and this abundant wealth attracted seekers after fortune not only from Spain, but also from other parts of America. Potosi, to which the mint had been transferred from Lima, and La Plata, which was the seat of an audiencia, outgrew most of the cities of South America. Lima had always the attraction which belonged to it as the capital of the kingdom, the seat of the viceroy's court, the residence of the aristocracy, and the centre of the ecclesiastical organisation. The attraction of the mines overcame the most serious obstacles to the growth of cities on the Peruvian highlands. On the great Andean plateau, they were twelve thousand feet above the level of the sea, in an inhospitable climate, with difficult access to fuel and water, yet they became the most important early centres of civilisation in South America, and presented many of the conditions of European life; while the towns that had to rely on agriculture or pastoral industries were either stagnant or grew slowly.

But while both the wealth and the population of the country were increasing, there were many indications that the political administration was weak. The viceroy and the Inquisition were not in accord; the royal finances were badly administered; the country was infested with runaway slaves; vagabond Indians hung about the suburbs of the towns; and the provinces suffered under a plague of reckless adventurers. In view of this state of things, the king was solicitous for the welfare of Peru, particularly when he appreciated its defenceless condition after the destruction of his invincible Armada. He had no reason to expect improvement under Fernando de Torres, Count of Villar, and he appointed García Hurtado de Mendoza to supersede him in 1590. Mendoza had been governor of Chile while his father was the viceroy of Peru, and now, as the Marquis of Cañete, he returned to direct the affairs of a more or less disorganised kingdom.[1]

[1] Lorente, *Historia del Perú bajo la dinastía austriaca*, 360.

IV

The mines of Peru, and those of Mexico as well, poured vast quantities of silver into the Spanish treasury, yet the government of Spain in the last decades of the sixteenth century was drifting steadily towards bankruptcy. To meet the needs of the State, recourse was had to various imposts designed to increase the royal revenues from America. Of these, the alcabala, which was now imposed at the rate of two per cent. on the value of all articles sold, proved to be the most burdensome. It had been introduced into Spain to provide funds for the support of the war against the Moors. A sufficient excuse for its imposition in Peru was found in the incursions of the pirates. In Quito, it provoked insurrection. The decree establishing it was published there in 1592. The ayuntamiento opposed the execution of the decree, and found many partisans among the people. The judges who were disposed to maintain the authority of the Crown found themselves overwhelmed in a storm of popular indignation. They were threatened with assassination, and were induced by the Jesuits to take advantage of the asylum offered by the churches and monasteries. The insurgents obtained complete control of the city. They placed guards about the monastery and the church of San Francisco, in which the officials had taken refuge, and attempted by the most severe measures to prevent the introduction of food. In their revolutionary enthusiasm, they determined to proclaim their independence, and to send a commissioner to London to solicit money and arms.

In the frenzy of victory, they proclaimed Diego Carrera king. He was a man of intelligence, and was esteemed by all classes. He saw not only the danger but also the folly of their undertaking, and declined the proffered

crown. He expressed emphatically his determination to remain loyal to his sovereign. Enraged by this attitude, the rebels stripped him to the belt, placed him on an ass, and carried him in procession through the streets, one person after another flogging him until they left him for dead.

In the midst of all this folly and madness, the Jesuits appear to have maintained their sanity. They surreptitiously provided the imprisoned officials with food and water, and made all possible efforts to establish peace and order, and to induce the people to submit to the legitimate government.

When the viceroy learned of these events, he sent to Quito a force of three hundred men, under Pedro Arana; but, before their arrival, peace had been restored, and Arana was able to enter the city without encountering any signs of hostility. He instituted legal proceedings against the guilty persons, abolished the office of alcalde, and sent the incumbents, together with the regidores, to Lima, while the procurador-general was beheaded. Philip II recognised the services of the Jesuits, and assigned to them various funds, and thus laid the foundation of the abundant revenues which they enjoyed in that province. Carrera survived the consequences of his efforts to put away a crown, and, in recognition of his loyalty, he was made *Alferez real*, and the office was given to be held by the family in perpetuity.[1]

V

The viceroy, Martin Enriquez (1581–83), confirmed Diego Carvajal y Vargas in possession of the postal system, in accordance with his hereditary rights; for the postal service of the Spanish colonies was conducted, for a long period, as a monopoly in the hands of a succession of private persons. Lorenzo Galíndez de Carvajal, the first

[1] Cevallos, *Historia del Ecuador*, ii. 89–94.

of the line, obtained this privilege in pe
King of Spain. This distinguished juris
tor was born in Plasencia, December 23,
was Diego Gonzalez de Carvajal, a priest
honourable positions in the Church. I
maiden who belonged to a noble family
abilities he might have encountered
illegitimate birth were removed by a l
tion issued by Ferdinand the Catholic.[1]

Galindez de Carvajal studied at t
Salamanca, where he became noted
application and his profound scholars
university with the rank of licentiate, a
very early attracted the attention of th
appointed a judge, and at the age of th
member of the royal council of Spain
with a request conveyed in the will of th
he undertook to collect the laws of th
them issued in a systematic form; b
interrupted by his departure for Amer
privilege as postmaster-general of t
privilege was granted to him, May 1
royal decree conveying it, Carvajal rece
right to despatch posts and messenger
necessary in the " Indies, islands, Tierra
and to be discovered, relating to matte
be necessary to send from one to anoth
limits of these divisions, from one to
and his monopoly extended to commu
the colonies and Spain.[2]

[1] Cárcano, *Comunicacion y transporte en la Ret*

[2] Cárcano, *Comunicacion y transporte en la* i. 51–3. *Vida y obras manuscritas del Doctor de Carvajal, del Consejo y Cámara de los Señor Fernando y Doña Isabel, y Doña Juana y D. C dispuesta para dar á lux por D. Rafael de Floran* Library of the Real Academia de la Histo Colec. Floranes, Tomo X. The decree conve printed in *Historia del Correo*, by Edwardo V (Madrid, 1894), pp. 99–101.

This grant was confirmed a few years later by a decree issued by Charles V on the 27th of October 1525. These two decrees constituted the basis of the rights and title enjoyed by Carvajal and his descendants. The monopoly which they established was complete, for there remained no ground of distinction in this regard between official and private correspondence. All communications of the Casa de Contratación, the officers, the judges, the governors, the viceroys, and even of the King of Spain had to pay postage, and thus became tributary to the holder of this monopoly. In the beginning nobody had the privilege of franking any communication whatsoever; but this form of administrative abuse appeared later, causing friction and controversies between the bureaucracy and the directors of the postal service, the family of Carvajal naurally seeking to maintain its original prerogatives.

The first holder of this privilege, Dr. Galíndez de Carvajal, died in 1527. His titles, privileges, and property passed to his second son, Diego de Carvajal, his eldest son having died without heirs. Diego de Carvajal, the second holder of the postal monopoly, died in Lima in 1576, after a long and somewhat conspicuous career. For eight generations, from 1514 to 1768, this family held its rights with respect to the postal service of the Indies. Its position was not, however, unchallenged. Some colonies refused to recognise the rights of the family of Carvajal, and established monopolies of their own. In other places the rights of the monopolist, which had been once recognised, were repudiated. Even where there was no hostility to the system of Carvajal, it was sometimes found that it failed to increase its facilities so as to keep pace with the needs of the growing communities. The rights were more extensive than the power to make satisfactory use of them. A single monopoly was clearly inadequate, and the confusion introduced by more or less independent systems in the different colonies led to a demand for a service controlled by the supreme govern-

ment. The breaking up of the system was an inevitable consequence of the growth of the different colonies to a greater degree of industrial and political independence.

The postal service controlled by Carvajal and his descendants reached ordinarily only the cities of Peru and those now included in the territory of Equador, the cities of Lima, Cuzco, Potosi, Guamanga, Oruro, La Paz, Arequipa, Quito, Trujillo, Piura, and such small towns as lay along routes connecting these places. By the middle of the eighteenth century, Mexico and Cuba had organised postal systems for their respective territories. "The kingdom of Chile and the viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata were the only regions of America which still remained without an organised postal service."[1] Yet in these regions there was need of means of communication of this kind, but the need did not seem to be sufficiently imperative to the successors of Carvajal, to induce them to furnish the facilities required.

The inhabitants of the Spanish colonies, like the inhabitants of Europe in the last decades of the sixteenth century, had not acquired the habit of making extensive use of public postal facilities. Only a small upper class had the cultivation requisite for carrying on a correspondence either with friends or for commercial purposes; and they sometimes sent their communications by occasional travellers or by cart trains or caravans, or, in cases of great urgency, by special messengers.

During the last years of the century, from 1596 to the end, Luis de Velasco was the viceroy of Peru. He succeeded García Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis of Cañete, who had petitioned the king to be relieved, in order that he might seek the restoration of his health in Europe. Velasco had been the viceroy of Mexico, an office which had also been held by his father. He left Mexico at Acapulco, and entered Lima, July 24, 1596. Two years

[1] Cárcano, *Comunicación y transporte en la Republica Argentina*, i. 374.

later Philip II died, and was succeeded by his son as Philip III. The new king, without either the intellectual ability or the marvellous activity of his father, inherited an empire which was already declining through internal weakness, and whose rich colonies were coveted by the other nations of Europe. These colonies were threatened not only by European invaders, but also by revolts of Indians. Governor Loyola, of Chile, and a small company, penetrating Arauco, were overwhelmed and destroyed; and to maintain the beginnings of civilisation in Chile, the viceroy was obliged to send forces from Peru. The Chiriguanas of Charcas were also in rebellion. The Portuguese, although their country was united with Spain in 1580, still regarded themselves as foreigners, and were a disturbing element in the affairs of the colonies. Philip III was pious, after the manner of Spanish princes; but he was not a statesman, and the business of governing his great empire was beyond his power.[1]

Hitherto the authorities of Peru had received with indifference Chilean demands for assistance, but fear awakened by the incursions of Drake and Cavendish led them to send troops to assist in defending the colony. About the same time soldiers were sent also from Spain; but, counting all the troops available from all sources, Governor Sotomayor found his force inadequate for the defence of the ports and for his campaigns against the Indians. In fact, the end of the sixteenth century saw the Spanish arms defeated, and the Araucanians rejoicing in the hope of relief from the oppression of the invaders. The alternation of victory and defeat which marked the campaigns of the south covered only a part of the dealings of the Spaniards with the Indians. The Indians of central and northern Chile were subdued and became feudal subjects under Spanish encomenderos.

These last years of the century saw, moreover, the

[1] Lorente, *Historia del Perú*, 1598–1700, 1–24; *Relaciones de los vireyes y audiencias que han gobernado el Perú* (Madrid, 1871), ii. 3–28; Mendiburu, viii. 285–294.

feeble beginnings of public instruction in Chile. The first schoolmaster was Gonzalo de Segovia, who was exiled from Peru for participation in the insurrection of Gonzalo Pizarro; but it does not appear that he had many pupils, for the Spanish settlement in Chile at the time of his arrival was merely a military camp. For the first fourteen years there were only a few women in the colony besides the Indians, and almost all of the children were mestizos.

Teachers are referred to in the records of Santiago for the last quarter of the sixteenth century. It was urged that one, Salinas, should be excused from going to the war against the Araucanians on the ground that "the city needed him to teach the children of its inhabitants to read and write."[1]

Diego Serrano was mentioned as a teacher of children in 1588, and at about the same time Pedro de Padilla had a school "in a house near the plaza of the city."[2] In 1615, Juan de Oropesa petitioned the cabildo for authority to establish a primary school. A few months later the corregidor of the capital ordered that Oropesa's school should be closed, and that the pupils should attend the school which the Jesuits had established. Subsequently Oropesa was permitted to open a second school, and a licence was also granted to Torres Padilla; but by the middle of 1621 both of these schools had ceased to exist. The municipal authorities then sought to supply the need of instruction, and to this end ordered Padilla to reopen his school within eight days, or suffer the penalty of a

[1] Medina, *La Instrucción Pública en Chile*, xx.; *Historiadores de Chile*, xviii. 47. The work of Medina on Public Instruction consists of two parts. The first part is composed principally of letters, reports, and decrees which are connected with a sufficient number of paragraphs to make a fairly complete narrative. The second part is made up entirely of documents referring to the establishment of various grades of schools in Chile, covering the period from 1610 to 1738. The earliest documents in the second part of this collection relate to the foundation of the University of the Dominicans of Santiago, and the latest is the decree which constitutes the charter of the royal University of San Filipe.

[2] *Historiadores de Chile*, xix. 196.

heavy fine. But this arbitrary command does not appear to have produced the desired result. The cabildo finally escaped from its difficulties by commissioning Pedro Lisperguer to make provision for the required instruction. Later the cabildo was disposed not only to support primary schools but also to aid in the organisation of instruction in Latin. In carrying out its designs with respect to the maintenance of schools the cabildo was embarrassed by lack of funds.

The first teacher of Chile mentioned as belonging to the secular clergy was Juan Blas, a mestizo, who was engaged in teaching as early as 1578, and to him "belongs the glory of having been the first teacher of Latin in Santiago."[1] He had studied arts and theology in Lima, and had been ordained as a priest. The fact that he was a mestizo provoked opposition to him, but his opponents were soon relieved, for he died in 1590.

A feature of the early years of instruction in Chile was the establishment of a seminary for the education of priests who might serve as missionaries to the Indians and be placed in charge of the inferior curacies. At first it was only a project imperfectly carried out, and the seminary was closed in 1593. Ten years later, largely through the influence of Juan Perez de Espinosa, it was revived and given a proper and permanent organisation, under the control of the secular clergy.[2]

[1] Medina, *Instrucción publica*, xl.; Gaspar Joro, *Primeras escuelas en Chile*, in *Revista chilena*, xii. 422–431.

[2] For a statement of the services of Juan Perez de Espinosa, and of his resignation of the office of Bishop of Santiago, Lagos, *Historia de las misiones del colegio de Chillan*, i. 70–74; Barros Arana, *Historia jeneral de Chile*, iii. 408.

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